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L. GORDON, E. KLOPOV

**Man
after Work**

In the Soviet Union in recent years, the amount of leisure time has substantially increased. Introduction of the five-day work week has provided 100 days off for most of the population. All workers and office employees have annual, paid vacations, which for 60 per cent of the work force are three weeks or longer.

Sociological surveys of the everyday life patterns and styles of working people are of great importance in effectively organizing their leisure time. Such surveys have been carried out in a number of industrial enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa, Kostroma, Taganrog and other cities. The data received have provided the basis of this book written by the well-known Soviet sociologists, Leonid Gordon and Eduard Klopov.

The specifics of the everyday life of separate socio-demographic, cultural, and economic groups of industrial workers are analyzed in detail in this book.



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Man after Work

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF DAILY
LIFE AND LEISURE
TIME. BASED ON THE SUR-
VEYS OF WORKERS' TIME
BUDGETS IN MAJOR CIT-
IES OF THE EUROPEAN
PART OF THE USSR



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INTRODUCTION

This book is an attempt to describe the social aspects of the behavior of urban workers in their daily routine and to analyze the patterns that define its dependence on living conditions. In this sense, this book is a continuation of the social research of the past years devoted to leisure time, to the problems of everyday life, the family and urban development.¹

The increasing interest in such areas shown by Soviet sociologists is not mere happenstance. In the final analysis, it is connected with the general tendencies in the development of Soviet society at its present stage.

Building a new world naturally begins with reforming the socio-political life of the country, the socialist reorganization of the economy, and creating the material and technical base of socialism. In each of these areas, the Soviet people has achieved success. Backward in the past, Russia came an immense distance in a few decades and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was transformed into a powerful industrial and agricultural state. Her success in the political remaking of society, her economic, cultural and scientific achievements are well known all over the world.

¹ See S. G. Strumilin, *Problems of Socialism and Communism in the USSR*, Moscow, 1961; G. A. Prudensky, "Problems of Working Time and Leisure Time" in: *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1972; V. D. Patrushev, *Time as an Economic Category*, Moscow, 1966; B. A. Grushin, *Free Time, Current Problems*, Moscow, 1967; A. G. Kharchev, *Marriage and the Family in the USSR. Results of Sociological Research*, Moscow, 1964 (all in Russian).

Building and defending a socialist society meant that the standard of living of the Soviet people had to be held down for quite a long time. This became less necessary as the country passed from one stage of its development to another, achieving new successes in building its technical, political and military base. There was a corresponding increase in the necessary material prerequisites for raising the level of the culture and prosperity of the working people and for ensuring a harmonious development of all members of society.

"From the first days of Soviet power, our Party and state have been doing their utmost in this respect. But for well-known historical reasons our possibilities were limited for a long time. Now they are substantially greater, which enables the Party to raise the question of centering economic development still more fully on improving the life of the people."¹

On the one hand, scientific and technological progress and the growth of labor productivity provide conditions for significantly improving the people's well-being, for increasing their free time. On the other hand, the issue today is not merely whether Soviet society has the chance to give the individual's daily routine more attention. Improving the quality of everyday life and leisure time is now a requirement for developing Soviet society as a whole. The Party and Government leaders are giving much attention to the problems of everyday life, to developing the service sector, to the need for careful, economical, efficient and creative use of free time. "Free time should really be considered a social resource when it is used for the harmonious development of the individual, of his abilities and, by the same token, for the further increase of the material and spiritual potential of society as a whole."²

At a period in the development of Soviet society when the building of communism has become a practical task and realistic goal, the individual's non-productive activities, his daily routine and free time are just as important for

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971, p. 51.

² L. I. Brezhnev, *Resolutions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU—the Militant Program of Activity of Soviet Trade Unions*. Speech at the 15th Congress of Trade Unions, Moscow, 1972, pp. 11-12 (in Russian).

the development of his personality as labor is for social production. Application of the latest achievements of science and technology, the use of intensive rather than extensive methods of economic development, the increased intensity and weight of mental labor—all this substantially alters the individual's place in social production and imposes new demands on him. In these conditions, activities outside the sphere of production are no less important than activities within the working collective. "Free time—which is time for leisure and for more elevated activity—naturally turns the person who uses it into a different subject and as a different subject he enters into the direct process of production."¹ In communist society, leisure time activities are a condition "for the full development of the individual, which, in turn, as a very important productive force, has a reciprocal influence on the productive force of labor".²

It is natural, therefore, that the individual's non-working hours be the subject of constant attention in the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, which are taking practical measures in such areas as housing, public education, communal services and retail trade, physical education, publishing, mass media, and transportation. The individual's activities outside working hours and his everyday behavior will, as Soviet society develops, become a more and more important element in building communist society.

It is important to investigate leisure activity because, first, it is a factor in personality development—a component in the totality of the individual's life and activities. Second, such research helps reveal ways to influence the individual, social groups and society as a whole (i.e., it is a basis for finding scientific methods of educating the working people in the spirit of communism and of social planning). And, finally, this subject has not been investigated as deeply as other aspects of the economic and social development of Soviet society.

Thus, we hope that our study is timely and will be of both theoretical and practical interest. The subject is, of course,

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, 1857-1858, Moskau, 1939, S. 599.

² *Ibid.*, S. 599.

too broad for a single monograph. Therefore, the general problem—the study of the individual's everyday behavior and its dependence on the conditions of life—must be narrowed down and made more specific.

The object of our research, to be specific, has been to study not the problem of the daily routine of the whole population, but of a comparatively homogeneous social group—urban industrial workers. Further, we have analyzed the data obtained in the course of a specific sociological survey. Strictly speaking, this approach means that quantitative results are limited to the cities studied. But since our research was carried on in representative but diverse industrial centers, we may assume that qualitative conclusions with respect to basic trends in the everyday life of the workers studied do reflect a situation characteristic for workers in analogous, major industrial centers (excluding, of course, those cities that are exceptions by virtue of their national composition, climate, etc.).

Finally, our study employs time budgets in the analysis of the social problems of daily life. The advantages of this approach will be examined in detail at a later point, but we wish here to note that time-budget studies were employed because they are the best instrument for analyzing sociologically the daily routine. In this sense, our study is based on methods already developed by many Soviet researchers. At the same time, it is obvious that research on the social aspects of behavior can be based not only on time-budget studies; this method can and should be supplemented by an analysis of other characteristics of the mode of life (social setting, social attitudes, etc.).

A few words should be said about the general concepts employed in this work. The *daily routine* is understood to designate here a broad sociological category encompassing that sphere of human activity lying outside of production and beyond formal supervision. In this sense, this sphere corresponds roughly to non-working hours.

The daily routine (at least at the present stage of social development) consists primarily of the individual's consumption of material and spiritual values and of the labor associated with this consumption. We are employing herein

not an ethnographic, but a philosophical, general sociological approach to the definition of the daily routine. This approach is based on functional differentiation (production, consumption, etc.), while the distinguishing feature of the ethnographic approach to the definition of the daily routine is its focus on the everyday, commonplace and traditional characteristics of behavior. Of course, one should take into account the everyday nature of the activities that make up the daily routine (for the exceptional, the rare occurrence has no place in the daily routine); but this factor is only of secondary importance in our study.

Of course, the above definition of the daily routine does not cover all forms of social activity. In some cultures, especially in pre-capitalist societies, productive and non-productive areas of activity are so intermixed that distinguishing between them is an abstraction of the highest order. In terms of concrete research, it is practically impossible (or extremely difficult) here to separate productive activity, i.e., work, from the daily routine. In such circumstances, it is natural to use division of life activity into its everyday and non-everyday forms, i.e., an ethnographic conception of the daily routine, as a frame of reference. Soviet daily life, like that of any other developed country, is of course a different matter. Here, it is preferable to define the daily routine functionally, as the non-productive, i.e., non-working, portion of daily life.

This general definition of the daily routine is necessary only for delimiting the principal forms of social life (production, management, daily routine). It does not suffice for a further analysis of that area of the individual's life because the daily routine is under this definition so varied and heterogeneous and because it encompasses the individual's material environment, his everyday behavior, different aspects of family life and many aspects of culture. Therefore, in order to use this general sociological definition of daily routine we must isolate its homogeneous elements. Isolating these elements is a prerequisite for a logical analysis both of the daily routine and of the basic areas of life of the social organism in general.

The basic concepts from which a description of these areas of social life can be drawn were indicated by Marx and

Engels. As they observe in *The German Ideology*: "The premises from which we begin are not arbitrary ones, not dogmas, but real premises from which abstraction can only be made in the imagination. They are the real individuals, their activity and the material conditions under which they live...."¹

In connection with our study of the social aspects of the daily routine, the focus of this book, it is important to point out that it is the behavior of the "active" individual outside of production and management that makes up the daily routine—routine in the literal sense of the word, routine as daily existence—as opposed to the environment in which it occurs. One's behavior in the daily routine is determined chiefly, but not exclusively, by various forms of consumption—material, cultural, etc.—and by directly connected service activities.

Of course, *behavior* can also be isolated in other spheres of social life: labor—in production; civic and political activity—in administration. Taken together, all of these elements (labor, civic and political activity, behavior in the daily routine) constitute the *mode of life* of an individual, family, group or society as a whole. Thus, *behavior in the daily routine*, the subject of this study, is a component part of one's way of life, one's *mode of everyday life*.

This book, however, will not examine all the aspects of behavior in the daily routine but only its most overt forms—behavior as a series of acts. We will but rarely deal with people's intentions, opinions, or emotions. In other words, behavior will be understood in a narrow sense, as real behavior, readily observed, which can be located in time.

Moreover, it is necessary to isolate among the concepts describing the basic elements of the daily routine and of other areas of human activity *the determinants of behavior, the material conditions of life*. In a certain sense, we can speak of the conditions of production (i.e., labor or work, in a narrow sense), the conditions of civic and political life, and the conditions of the daily routine. But this delimitation is relative: wage or income, for example, is, on the one

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology*, Moscow, 1964, p. 31.

hand, a condition of labor and, on the other, a condition of the daily routine. With respect to behavior, the conditions of life clearly fall into two categories: first, external conditions, one's environment, i.e., the conditions of life in the strict sense of the word; second, the particular characteristics of the people or social groups themselves, i.e., the subjects of the behavior.

The external conditions of life can be divided into general—such as the nature of productive relationships, the characteristics of the socio-political system, the national and social features of culture, etc.—and specific, concrete determinants of behavior. The first are in effect the most important, the primary conditions of human activity. In the final analysis, they determine all aspects of human relations. In everyday life, however, the individual does not meet up with abstract and general forms of external conditions, but rather with a plethora of varied circumstances in which the former take concrete form. For example, in general socialist production relationships take the form of social ownership of the means of production, the laws of planned development and the sway of comradesly relations and mutual assistance. However, in actual day-to-day life the general living conditions of Soviet society take the form of specific conditions of labor, of a specific per capita income, in general, a specific material environment, and a system of behavioral norms, traditions, and so on. The totality of such factors acting directly on the individual and his behavior constitutes the concrete conditions of life. In our study dedicated to the daily behavior of one particular group—urban industrial workers—the basic focus is not on the general, but the concrete conditions of life.

It is important to bear in mind that it is only in the final analysis that the external conditions of life determine the behavior of an individual or a social group. The interconnection between external conditions and behavior is rather broad; this interrelationship determines behavior only in a general sense and takes concrete form through the particular characteristics of the people themselves, characteristics formed under the influence of external conditions of life but not coinciding directly with them. If we liken the external conditions of life to a source of light, the partic-

ular characteristics of people can be thought of as lenses refracting the rays.

This mechanism is rather complex and can be examined from different points of view. In our study, social, group characteristics, position ("status") in social structures, and the socially significant characteristics of a particular group are the most significant factors. These include social and professional status (i.e., one's place in production), sex, age, family status, education, skills, etc. Such factors determine the individual's basic social functions and role and, consequently, they define his most important duties, goals and norms, in a sense delimiting his everyday behavior.

Of course, social and group characteristics are connected with external conditions of life and are determined by them. These characteristics sum up a series of conditions in which the individual finds himself over the course of his life and, in a certain sense, they are a generalization of the conditions under which preceding generations lived. But as direct data, the individual's social and family status, his education or skills are factors that are relatively independent of the present external conditions of life. In other words, social and group characteristics are like concrete, external conditions of everyday behavior in that they determine a person's mode of life as a whole, and his behavior in the daily routine in particular.

The sum of both these series of factors can be viewed as the concrete social situation of the individual's mode of life, or, to use the terminology of Engels and Lenin, the "*conditions of life*".¹

It is impossible simply to divide the conditions of life into those in the daily routine, those involved in production, etc. However, in examining any given area of life it is useful to isolate those conditions that are most closely connected with the subject at hand.

Along with social and group characteristics, the individual, personal characteristics of people—socio-psychological, psychological and biophysiological characteristics—have a tremendous influence on behavior. These are, for

¹ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1973, p. 488; V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 411.

example, an individual's temperament, personality, his tendency toward conformity and his physical constitution. They are all closely linked to the individual's behavior. From one standpoint, they and everyday activity form a whole *human personality* in the broad sense. However, in the sociological study of behavior, individual psychological characteristics are one of the preconditions of everyday activity, they connect the conditions of everyday life with man's concrete acts.

The correlation of the general concepts described above (schematically represented in Fig. 1) makes it possible to clarify the structure of our exposition and to specify its limits. It will consist of two parts. First, we shall analyze indices that describe the conditions of everyday life and the basic forms of everyday behavior. Second, we shall directly examine the connection between the conditions of life and the individual's mode of everyday life. In other words, we shall first describe independent variables (the

Conditions of life

| P r o d u c t i o n | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| Conditions of production | | Labor |
| S o c i a l a n d p o l i t i c a l l i f e | | |
| Socio-political conditions | | Social activity |
| D a i l y r o u t i n e | | |
| Determinants of the daily routine | | Behavior in the daily routine |
| General and concrete conditions of life | Social, group, socio-psychological, psychological and biophysiological characteristics of man | Everyday behavior (mode of life) |

Personality as a social category

Fig. 1. The Place of the Daily Routine Within the Principal Spheres of Human Life

conditions of life) and dependent variables (behavior), and then we shall analyze their interrelationship.

Of course, this study cannot touch upon all of the conditions of life or all areas in one's mode of life. The subject of the present study is a description of the most important forms of behavior in the daily routine (as they are reflected in the data on the use of free time) and of the connections between this behavior and some conditions of life. Obviously, such an approach, which excludes the broad area of socio-psychological factors and individual characteristics, leads only to a *socio-statistical analysis* of the subject. The reader should be aware that the data in this study refer not to individuals but to a specific group. The authors, however, hope that a socio-statistical description, in spite of its limitations, may indicate many of the important aspects and tendencies in the daily routine of urban workers at the present stage of development of Soviet socialist society.

This work is based on time-budget studies and research on workers' conditions of life carried out by the authors at seven iron and steel works, machine-building and textile plants in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa and Kostroma between 1965 and 1968.¹ The total number of persons employed in all these plants runs to several tens of thousands.

Research on so huge a group naturally entailed selectivity. Male and female workers were selected separately, in two steps. First, with the aid of representatives from the administration and social organizations, factory shops were picked out that seemed the most typical of the employees of each plant in terms of skills, levels of culture, and demographic composition. A number of shops were selected, so that approximately one-fifth of the employees of each plant would be included. Then from each shop one out of every ten workers were arbitrarily selected (from a list). 550 fe-

¹ Research was conducted at the iron and steel works named after G. I. Petrovsky, the Krasny Profintern Machine-Building Plant, the Agricultural Machines Plant in Dnepropetrovsk, the Dneprovsk Aluminum Plant in Zaporozhie, the Flax Works named after V. I. Lenin and the Iskra Oktyabrya Factory in Kostroma and the Jute Works in Odessa.

male and 350 male workers were selected in all, corresponding to 2 to 3 per cent of all the workers at the plants studied.

As is apparent from the above, the second step is actually random in nature and is thus not susceptible to systematic error.¹ Assuming the basic parameters of the total group are distributed in accordance with the binominal law, it is not difficult to judge within a certain degree of probability the limits within which the make-up of the sample obtained differs from the make-up of the whole. In particular, with respect to samples of a size such as ours, one can say with a probability of $P = 0.9$ that the relative magnitude (weight) of the basic social, demographic, educational, etc., groups differs from the corresponding indices of the hypothetical total group by no more than 5 per cent in each case. In practice, this means that if sampling is repeated in these plants (given the same scale and procedure) the probability of obtaining results, different from ours in the basic socio-demographic parameters by only 5 per cent, is nine times greater than the probability of more substantial discrepancies.

With this degree of accuracy, our selection should be considered representative of the male and female workers of the typical shops in the enterprises studied. And since the selection of typical shops was made with assistance from experts, the selection, within given limits, can be considered representative for all male and female workers of the enterprises studied in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa and Kostroma.

The study itself consisted of gathering 3 types of data from each of the subjects. First, by means of a questionnaire (of standardized format) data were gathered on the subjects' professions, skills, age, education, family status, family income (type of earnings, pensions, stipends), housing, property, etc. Questions of this sort are extremely easy to understand and can be interpreted in only one way; they

¹ Strictly speaking, this is a quasi-random selection. In practice, however, such a selection, made with the stipulation that the compilation of the list in no way be connected with the subject of the research, assures the same effect as would a random sample in the strict sense of the term.

do not encourage subjects to give imprecise answers, intentionally or unconsciously. In practical terms, this means that socio-demographic, socio-cultural and other indices gathered by the questionnaires fully reflect the respective characteristics of the group selected and, within the margin of selection error, represent all the workers in the factories studied. The margin of error essentially depends on the number of subjects in a given category. However, as already noted, there is no more than a 5 per cent error in the overwhelming majority of instances.

The second type of information gathered was the so-called time budgets, i.e., the time spent by subjects within a certain period. In our study, we collected the data for a three-day period—a work day, a Saturday and a Sunday—so that the total number of 24-hour time budgets from which the arithmetic means were then computed and used in the study exceeded 2500.

The technique of time studies and the basic principles for constructing time budgets have been repeatedly described in Soviet economic and sociological literature—from the classic work of S. G. Strumilin (published in the 1920s) to studies of the past decade by G. A. Prudensky, V. D. Patrushev, and V. I. Bolgov. Therefore there is no need to describe in detail the research procedures associated with time budgets. We will discuss only the probability of error in evaluating time budgets and the measures taken to keep such error to a minimum.

The specific errors characteristic of time budgets often stem from the relative complexity of the information that subjects must provide. The evaluation of time budgets presupposes that subjects will provide data accounting for their activities in a definite time period. In contrast to questions relating to the most elementary socio-demographic indices, one must here anticipate so-called errors of memory: it is not always easy for subjects to remember just what and for how long they did something during the time period under investigation.

In this respect, we do not consider very reliable the data gathered on a time period from answers to direct questions, such as how many hours were spent on housework, reading, TV watching, etc. (with the exception of questions on strictly

regulated activities that might be called naturally chronometric, such as commuting or classes).

In our research, as in a number of other studies, a different technique for gathering data was adopted. The subjects were not asked direct questions. Instead, the subjects compiled, with the aid of a specially trained clerk, a follow-up record of their activities of the previous day, giving approximate times of the beginning and end of the activities (e.g., subject got up at 7:00 a.m., washed until 7:15 a.m., began breakfast at 7:15 a.m.). The subjects were warned in advance that they would meet with the clerk and were asked to prepare by making note of how they spent their previous day. The subsequent processing was carried out by the research group: classifying all their activities into specific kinds (according to a code), measuring the amount of time used in each kind of activity and calculating the arithmetic means.

Of course, this procedure demands much more work than gathering answers through direct questioning. However, it substantially reduces the danger of lapses of memory that are quite likely and inevitably significant in the direct-question method. The method of consecutive recording (especially when the events of the previous day are recorded) greatly facilitates the task of remembering things. To omit or add some important activity simply out of forgetfulness is, in this kind of consecutive recording, almost impossible. Moreover, making a consecutive record almost automatically forces the subject to double check to see that the time he enters is correct. Each subject has certain fixed times during the day—the beginning and end of the work day, the time of his favorite radio or television program, show times at the theater, the time of a date, etc. The consecutive enumeration of his activities constantly prompts the subject providing such fixed points in time and does not allow him to make too great an error in determining the beginning and end of his activities. In this sense, the technique of keeping a consecutive record of time reduces the probability of omitting activities out of forgetfulness and prevents major error in determining the duration of the activities.

Lapses of memory, however, are only one side of the problem. Everyday allocation of time can encompass a great

number of activities, and subjects may associate the length of some activities with prestige: it is logical to expect that many subjects may intentionally exaggerate or understate the time spent on certain activities. However, the technique we have used—a consecutive recording of activities over three different days instead of direct questioning on the length of activities—somewhat reduces the danger of such distortions. Such a technique is a kind of instantaneous observation. The subject is not asked about prestigious or intimate activities in general, but only about their manifestation within one given segment of time. To say that one hasn't read a book on any particular day sounds totally different from saying that one doesn't read books at all or that one only reads rarely.

Of course, there remain many intimate and covert activities that the subject finds unpleasant to recall or simply avoids bringing up. Studying this aspect of behavior through time budgets is simply impossible. Moreover, the object of our research was not to collect specific data on intimate behavior. Subjects and clerks were forewarned about this: intimate activities were not included in the daily records made according to the list of ways of spending time. (That time budgets, as will be shown below, can give an indirect picture—independent of the subject's wishes—of many anti-social and deliberately covert activities—not for individuals, but for large groups, is another question.)

As a whole, the features of the procedure used in our research allow us to trust that the information obtained realistically reflects people's activities for the three-day period that we have surveyed. Here, however, we come across yet another problem. Data on the time expenditures, especially observations limited to a specific moment, fluctuate greatly. Correspondingly, the representativity of a sample's socio-demographic parameters cannot, even when the data are fully verified, guarantee that the instantaneous "snapshot" of the use of time will reflect the most characteristic features of how the group studied, as a whole, usually allocates time.

Additional measures were taken to reduce the range of error with regard to the fluctuation of data from day to day. The most important of these was to increase the sample, as

compared to the one from which the socio-demographic characteristics were obtained. As already mentioned, each subject provided information on three days and thus the amount of data on the use of time is three times as great as the amount of data on socio-demographic characteristics. This amount of data ensures that the mean figures for each of the basic categories that will be examined below (e.g., married working woman having a particular educational level) can be calculated on the basis of several dozen 24-hour time budgets (in most cases, from 50 to 100).

It was extremely important, too, that each subject provided data on the use of time during a working day, a Saturday and a Sunday. For people working on a rotating schedule, one work day and two consecutive days off were selected. Such an approach eliminated one of the most serious sources of fluctuation in data on isolated time segments. Moreover, the average figures used in our subsequent analysis always (with exceptions that will be specifically noted) represent not a 24-hour, but a week-long use of time. These figures were specially calculated to provide proportional "input" from data on week days and days off in the determination of the averages.¹ In this way, the influence of random differences in time budgets for week days and days off is eliminated.

In addition, we would point out that in the course of research and in the following exposition, all data are examined separately for men and for women. Such an analysis neutralizes one further source of high fluctuation in data on time allocations.

All of these measures reduce the fluctuation of data to a more or less acceptable level. The comparison of fluctuations in the individual time expenditures in the course of a week with the mean figures (taking into account the number of time budgets on the basis of which the arithmetic mean in each category was obtained) allows one to say, with a probability of $P = 0.9$, that the discrepancies caused by these fluctuations (i.e., the intervals within which the moment of the arithmetic means obtained from the data

¹ Mean indices were first calculated separately for week days and for days off. Then the former were multiplied by 5, the latter, by 2, so that the totals provide indices for a one-week period.

of a number of uniform samples are found) in the overwhelming number of types of time allocation do not exceed 15 to 30 minutes.

Of course, such discrepancies are quite large in relation to certain time expenditures whose averages do not exceed 30 minutes. This is why the research program envisioned gathering yet another category of information, on the usual intensity and regularity of certain activities, particularly those whose average duration in a day or week is not very great. The subjects were asked how many books they had read during the month preceding the survey, how many movies they attended, the regularity of civic activities, athletics, amateur artistic activities, etc. The fluctuation in the answers in such a survey is naturally much lower than in the data on time expenditures; standard statistical tests show that discrepancies in the distribution of subjects with respect to a given answer do not exceed 5 per cent of the total number of persons surveyed. The comparative simplicity of the questions, as with socio-demographic characteristics, practically eliminated all lapses of memory. It should be acknowledged, however, that distortions in answers to this type of question are possible when considerations of prestige and popular stereotypes enter the picture. However, in conjunction with time budgets, information on the general intensity and regularity of activities can play a very useful role.

On the whole, the materials of our study provide valid information (within the limits noted above) on the social, demographic and cultural make-up, on the material situation and basic time expenditures of industrial workers in Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa and Kostroma. The immediate focus of the study is precisely this group of workers; the conclusions of this study relate, in a strictly quantitative sense, to this particular group.

At the same time, a number of considerations give us grounds for thinking that the materials of the study allow us to discern not only local, but also more general tendencies. The enterprises studied, viewed in terms of the make-up of their employees and other factors affecting the daily routine, are typical enough of processing industries in major towns in the European part of the USSR. Among

these are iron and steel works, with their predominantly male work force; textile factories, in which the overwhelming majority of workers are women; and machine-building factories, in which the number of male and female workers is approximately equal. The study covered some factories in which equipment reflects the latest technological advances; their workers have relatively high levels of skill, education and wages. But the study also dealt with older factories, employing less developed groups of workers. In much the same way, the enterprises studied show the influence of different levels of services provided for the workers by factory organizations. Among these enterprises are big plants offering a wide range of recreation facilities and child care institutions, as well as the relatively small enterprises that provide more modest opportunities.

And, what is perhaps even more important, the study dealt with various types of major and large cities typical of the basic regions in the European part of the USSR. Dnepropetrovsk, for example, represents traditional centers of heavy industry that have developed at a furious pace in the five decades of Soviet power; Zaporozhie typifies new industrial and cultural centers created by socialist industrialization; Kostroma belongs to those old centers of light industry whose growth in past decades has been relatively slow; Odessa reflects the peculiarities of life in cities that have developed not only as industrial centers but also cultural, transport (sea port) and administrative centers.

Lack of data prevents direct comparison of the indices of our sample with corresponding indices of workers of the entire processing industry in the major cities of the European part of the USSR. Quite indicative, however, are the following data (see table on page 26) on average duration of time expenditures of the workers we have studied and workers in Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Rostov, and Ivanovo, whose time budgets were studied by the RSFSR Central Statistical Board in 1963 (hours-minutes per week).¹

¹ These are relative figures calculated from averages of time expenditures for men and for women separately in a hypothetical situation in which both sexes are represented equally in corresponding samples. Such figures, naturally, are not appropriate for a substantive analysis since the disparity in time expenditures of men and women is too

| | Dnepropet- rovsk, Zaporozhie, Odessa, Kostroma | Sverd- lovsk | Gorky | Rostov | Iva- novo |
|--|--|-----------------|-------|--------|--------------|
| Working time | 39.50 | 39.50 | 39.30 | 37.50 | 41.00 |
| Non-working time connected with production | 11.20 | 10.10 | 10.50 | 10.10 | 8.50 |
| Housework | 21.40 | 23.30 | 22.30 | 22.40 | 22.00 |
| Free time, leisure | 30.30 | 28.00 | 29.10 | 29.30 | 27.20 |
| Sleeping, eating, etc. | 64.40 | 66.30 | 66.00 | 67.50 | 68.50 |

As is apparent, the basic indices in our study differ from the figures for Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Rostov, and Ivanovo, calculated on the basis of data from the Central Statistical Board of the RSFSR, no more than the latter totals differ from one another. Moreover, many of the small differences between our data and the data of the Statistical Board stem not from the nature of the sample but from the date of the research. In 1963, when time-budget research was being carried on in Sverdlovsk, Gorky, Rostov, and Ivanovo, the 5-day work week was in force only in individual, experimental factories. By the time our research began, the 5-day work week was basic to industry, so that the overwhelming majority of the workers we studied had two days off per week. The transition to the 5-day week shortened time spent on housework and increased leisure time proper. This fact alone explains the most important difference between our figures and the others (the shorter duration of housework and the somewhat longer duration of leisure time). In addition, it should be pointed out that

great (as already mentioned, we shall analyze all data for male and female workers separately). However, the figures are appropriate for comparing the two studies, which is our goal here. The data used to determine these relative indices characterizing the results of the study by the Central Statistical Board of the RSFSR are found in *On the Basic Totals of Time Studies on the Inhabitants of Pskov, Novosibirsk, 1968*, p. 76 (in Russian).

our research represents only workers, while the figures of the Statistical Board include engineering and technical personnel and clerks. Consequently, by virtue of specificity, our results would be more precise.

In this sense, we trust that on the basis of studying the daily behavior of tens of thousands of workers in the factories selected, one can succeed in highlighting the general patterns and tendencies of the daily routine of workers in major cities, or at least in the basic areas of the European part of the USSR.

The potential for a broader interpretation of our study (in the qualitative rather than quantitative sense, of course) is enhanced by the fact that in the following exposition the materials of our basic research are supplemented and verified by data from some of our other studies carried out at the same time and by the same methods. In cities where the factories we studied are located, we also studied conditions of life and time budgets of several hundred male and female workers who at that time had a 6-day work week. The 6-day week makes it impossible to use information on their time expenditures directly in our calculations. However, these data can serve as control figures to aid in checking conclusions when something is in doubt. Although the following exposition does not specify every instance where we have made use of the control figures, all the most important conclusions presented were formulated only if the materials of our basic research did not contradict relationships revealed by analysis of the control figures.

In addition, parallel to our work in major and large cities, we conducted research on 500 male and female workers in Pavlovo-Posad, a small town near Moscow (here about 200 persons had a 5-day work week). The data from this group are used as a background for clarifying and evaluating the specific features of the daily routine and conditions of life in the major cities.

Finally, in a number of cases, the description of the life of urban workers is supplemented by materials from several sections of a composite sociological study carried out in 1967-69 in Taganrog by several institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It is to be understood that, in the following study, materials from sociological research were supplement-

ed and verified, wherever possible, with government statistics and information drawn from other sources. However, our study remains fundamentally a monograph describing the results of a specific sociological research project. This determines the internal coherence, compatibility and reliability of the material analyzed as well as the limits of this reliability—the impossibility of extrapolating, directly and without qualification, the quantitative indices obtained in the course of the analysis beyond the limits of the group of workers studied. Whether the general nature of our conclusions, their qualitative side, has broader import, is another question.

Part One

THE METHODOLOGY
OF STUDYING THE DAILY ROUTINE
AND EXTRA-WORKING TIME

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC DETERMINANTS OF URBAN DAILY LIFE AND THEIR INDICES

1. BASE INDICES OF THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Conditions of life play the decisive role—i.e., they are the independent variables—in determining the urban worker's daily routine. We shall deal first with the totality of the workers' external environment and the most important social characteristics that form, by our definition, the conditions of life. Generally speaking, all the environmental factors to one degree or another influence the daily routine, but some (pertaining to conditions of life *per se* or to group characteristics of individuals) are especially closely linked to the non-production sphere of life.

Among these conditions of life are, first of all, the material conditions of the day-to-day existence of a given group. Particularly noticeable here are such material and economic conditions as the level of income and other revenues; the amount and type of property, especially consumer durables; housing, including communal conveniences; the level of production of consumer goods and services.

Socio-demographic characteristics are of great importance for the conditions of life connected with the daily routine: sex, age, family status, the proportion of workers and of dependents in a family, etc.

Finally, daily behavior depends to a great extent on cultural factors such as the nature and structure of the value system, behavioral models and stereotypes, traditions, educational level, and the individual's outlook.

For the purposes of our study, these three categories of conditions of life (material and economic, demographic,

and cultural) can be viewed as the fundamental, base conditions of the daily routine.

Per capita income. The per capita income of an urban family is without a doubt one of the most characteristic and clear indicators of the material conditions of the daily routine in the city.¹ In our research we have taken only the regular income into account—salary, pensions, stipends, alimony, and payments for temporary disablement. In most of urban worker families, such revenues constitute the overwhelming part of the income.

The mean income in the families of workers studied was somewhat over 60 rubles per month. On the whole, this provides the opportunity for a normal daily routine. Special research conducted by the Institute of Labor shows that a monthly per capita income of 50 rubles satisfies a family's essential needs.

Our research also reflected the characteristically small differentiation, under socialism, of the levels of industrial workers' per capita income. In only 5-10 per cent of the families studied was the per capita income below 50 rubles and roughly the same percentage of people were in families whose monthly per capita income exceeded 100 rubles.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to ignore the differentiation in the level of income. For the following analysis, and for research on the connection between income and everyday behavior, it is reasonable to divide the workers studied into three groups:

- those whose income does not satisfy the essential needs (less than 51 rubles a month per capita);

- those whose income satisfies the essential needs (from 51 to 75 rubles a month per capita);

- and those whose income approaches a level assuring rational consumption (more than 75 rubles per month per capita).

Workers whose level of income guarantees material comfort compose from 40 to 50 per cent of the entire group of persons studied. A significant proportion (approximately

¹ In examining the data on per capita income, we take into account all subjects, including single persons, the latter categorized as families consisting of one person.

a quarter of those living in large cities) live in conditions that exceed this level. At the same time, a significant portion of workers, mainly those with large families, still belong to the group that is not economically well off. Of course, it is necessary to take into account that our data were obtained from studies undertaken from 1965 through 1968. At the present time, the level of the workers' income has risen substantially. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-70), the average wage and salary rose by 26 per cent and real income per capita rose by 33 per cent. In accordance with the new five-year plan, wages will rise by yet another 20-22 per cent and there will be increases in stipends and pensions. Moreover, under socialism it is not income alone that determines the standard of living: material wealth is also distributed through social consumption funds. In this way, in material terms, different groups of the population are brought closer together. In the current five-year plan, the total of free allowances and services, as well as monetary disbursements from social funds, will reach 90 billion rubles. In 1975, social consumption funds will provide 30 per cent of the total volume of allowances and services.

Housing conditions. First of all it is necessary to take into account the communal conveniences provided by a given type of living unit. It is customary to list the communal conveniences provided and to determine how widespread they are. This method, despite (or rather because) of its detail, complicates the matter and is inconvenient. In situations where a detailed description of housing conditions is not the main goal, it is more expedient to adopt more general indicators.

In particular, these indicators might be arranged on a scale reflecting the level of communal conveniences provided. To establish the scale, it is necessary first of all to divide living units into three categories—those providing all communal conveniences (running water, plumbing, central heating, gas, bath or shower, hot water);

—those providing basic communal conveniences (running water, plumbing, central heating);

—and those not providing any communal conveniences. To these important three we can add two intermediate categories: living units providing many communal conveniences

(the basic ones plus several others) and those providing some conveniences.

Because of the relatively small size of our sample, this study will single out three categories of living units: those with all communal conveniences, those with some, and those without any at all. In certain cases we shall restrict ourselves to contrasting the two extreme categories.

But here, as in the case of income, one should remember that housing conditions are one of the most rapidly improving aspects of the people's standard of living. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1966-70), approximately 55 million persons received new apartments. By 1971, 60 million families, i.e., three-quarters of the population of the Soviet Union, had moved into apartments and houses built within the last 20 years. Such is the pace of housing construction, which is increasing every year. The Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) calls for building another 580 million square meters of living space—12 per cent more than the previous five-year plan.

Particular attention will be given to improving the architecture of the houses, their interiors and exteriors. The new apartments, which are modern and comfortable, can accommodate the needs of different types of families, are designed to specific climatic conditions, and ensure the most economical housekeeping.

New blocks of apartment houses are being planned and built along the same lines. For convenience, stores, nursery schools, post offices, savings banks, laundries, tailor and repair shops are located within walking distance of every building. The older built-up areas will be reconstructed to satisfy these needs.

The changes in the housing situation today reflect the definite progress that is being made to solve the housing problem. However, even today the housing problem is connected with the most pressing problems of the daily routine.

Per capita income (as well as its relationship to the level necessary for material comfort) and housing conditions constitute today the most keenly felt material and economic determinants of the daily routine. A special questionnaire in Taganrog demonstrated that half of the workers feel that changing these two factors would improve their daily lives.

Demographic factors. Economic conditions affect the material aspects of daily life, while the individual's behavior and his general orientation depend upon socio-demographic factors—age, family status, etc. These factors determine the individual's most essential duties and roles in his daily life and are connected with numerous norms and expectations upon which a person's daily activities are based. In other words, socio-demographic status to a large extent determines the nature of one's daily behavior, within a broader framework of its possible variants. Therefore, our selection of socio-demographic factors is important for our study of the relationship between the living conditions and everyday behavior.

The family-demographic conditions of a particular individual or group are often treated as a combination of such indicators as sex, age, marital status, presence of children, etc. The wealth of information such indices offer for describing the many socio-demographic and other aspects of behavior makes it difficult to consider them appropriate for this study.

The individual's behavior is directly connected not so much with a given demographic trait as with the social role one assumes and the obligations and opportunities connected with that trait in a given society. It seems, however, that of all the demographic indices usually employed in sociological research, dividing people by sex alone draws a distinct line between their positions and social roles in the daily routine. The dissimilarities of the daily chores and of behavioral stereotypes of men and women, stereotypes prescribed by the existing norms, traditions and contemporary culture, are so obvious that they need not be repeated here. This is one index that we shall continually refer to. This study will at no point use data on workers without specifying sex.

So far as other indices are concerned, they correspond only roughly to family and age status traits that define the most important social functions and roles of the daily routine. In studies such as ours dealing with comparatively limited differences—within a group of industrial workers—age and family status, especially when taken by themselves, only distantly reflect changes in social roles. People in the

same age and family-status groups are often, in fact, in entirely different age-family groups, so their behavior is determined by different social roles and functions. A 25-year-old woman may have a profession and raise children, i.e., her socialization may be completed, or she may be an unmarried student who is just entering the social system. The category of single people in the ordinary sense—unmarried—also includes young people who are just preparing to start a family as well as elderly persons who live alone. In the married group, in turn, there are young couples without children, parents raising children, and elderly people whose children have grown up. It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that traditional demographic indices in these cases group together people whose social roles, positions in the system of social relations and, in particular, in bringing up the new generation, are quite different.

On the other hand, people are sometimes found in different age and, at times, family groups whose age-family status is in fact more or less identical. To expand the example given above, the 25-year-old working woman with a family is closer in her position in life and general daily behavior to a 35-year-old working woman with children than to a student her own age. The age of thirty—the notorious age at which we usually distinguish the young from the old—often turns out to be simply a fictional watershed.

Stages of the life cycle. The obvious inadequacy of the most simple demographic characteristics, taken individually, suggests that one should devise a composite index for studying everyday behavior—an index that would simultaneously take into account both age and family status (as well as other traits) and therefore reflect more precisely the family-age situation as a whole. Such an index would seem to be the stage of the life cycle at which an individual is found.

What we call the life cycle is the succession, characteristic for a given society, of age periods in the individual's life, periods differentiated by changes in function and role in the social system in general and, in particular, in the system of rearing the younger generation. Each such period can be treated as a particular stage in the life cycle. In effect, stages of the life cycle characterize the family-age situation

as a whole, the social age, so to speak, that defines the basic family-age criteria of everyday behavior.

It is to be understood that the transition from this theoretical definition to an instrument for identifying a specific individual's stage in the life cycle unavoidably involves certain approximations. Nevertheless, in spite of "instrumental" distortions, the concept of the normal life cycle and its stages provides a somewhat more exact index of a person's family-age status than do the simplistic demographic traits that are often used in social research.

It should not be too great an oversimplification to state that the normal life cycle in the modern city has the following basic stages:

—childhood and adolescence—the initial period of socialization that takes place primarily in the family and in school;

—youth—the time in which the individual's socialization is basically completed and he begins his working life and emerges from under the dominant influence of his parents;

—maturity—the central stage of the life cycle connected with work, family life, raising children;

—old age—the stage of life at which the individual usually completes his working career and in which his children become independent.

Within each of these stages, there are shorter periods; and between these stages we can isolate transitional stages and also "combined" stages (e.g., elderly people with minor children).

The practical correlation between a working individual and the specific stage of his life cycle in cases when his life follows a more or less normal pattern is made with the aid of data on family status, age, and the presence of children. Under normal circumstances, the border between youth and maturity is the point at which one begins to raise a family.¹

¹ We stress that we are referring here specifically to working persons. If we were to determine the point at which basic socialization has been completed for the entire population, then using just the point at which the individual starts his own family would hardly be adequate. In such cases it is necessary to use a composite index made up of at least two factors—the creation of a family and the beginning of an independent working life.

In connection with our study of the daily routine, it is reasonable to posit an intermediary stage in the life cycle between youth and maturity—from the time of marriage to the time children are born. In most cases, old age is characterized by a slacking off of work; therefore, it is marked not so much by the independence of children as by the non-participation in social production. We should keep in mind, however, that between the time children come of age and the time the individual retires there is usually a certain transitional period. Therefore, we shall designate that group of people who have already raised their children but have not yet retired, an intermediate period in the normal life cycle—a period between maturity and old age, that is to say, the “pre-old age” period.

In other words, if the lives of the entire populace in all cases progressed normally (i.e., if each person without exception passed through the series of stages of the life cycle consecutively—from youth through marriage and the raising of children to old age), then to place working people in the life cycle (youth, young family, mature family, the “pre-old age” period) it would be enough to determine whether a particular individual is a childless bachelor, whether he (or she) is married and has no children, whether he (or she) is the parent of minor children or, finally, of adult children.

This is complicated, however, by the fact that not everyone passes through all stages of the normal life cycle. The post-war demographic situation, for example, created a noticeable group of people who never formed their own families. And while this group has gradually decreased, it is obvious that one will always find a certain percentage of unmarried, childless persons. Moreover, there is always a certain number of childless couples, and families in which only the mother or the father raises the children. Nevertheless, even these groups can be assigned to stages of the life cycle. One can say that people who never marry or marry but do not have children in a sense pass from youth or from the initial stage of family life directly to a stage analogous to the one in which children have become independent, i.e., they bypass one or two periods of family life. Single mothers bypass the transitional stage between youth and maturity; people who

raise minor children until the time they retire bypass the intermediate stage between maturity and old age.

Such an approach, of course, requires the establishment of a certain age limit within which an unmarried individual is considered to be in the stage of youth or the first stage of family life, and beyond which he (she) should be related to the group of elderly persons. Obviously, such an age limit is arbitrary. In our study, the limit will be 40 years of age. Of course, within this limit there will be some people in a rather ambiguous position, such as unmarried, childless men and women who are approaching 40 but will formally be grouped as "youth". However, the number of such persons is relatively small. Unmarried and childless persons between 30 and 40 years of age comprise no more than 3-4 per cent of the workers studied. Allowing for this slight ambiguity, we can relate any worker to a given stage in the life cycle: all single persons below 40 who do not have children are considered "youth" who have not yet begun a family; all childless married persons under 40 are considered young marrieds; all parents with minor children are related to families with minor children; and, finally, all parents with adult children and all childless couples over 40—elderly people.

* One should keep in mind, too, that the family status of individuals in the same stage of the life cycle will not always be identical. To take this situation into account, it is reasonable to divide the above categories into groups with a similar family status. For example, among youths one can distinguish between those living at home and those living alone; among parents raising children—between those with more or fewer children and those with and without family members who help out at home; among older people—those living alone, living in families with or without minor children. Of course, there are other ways to make the system of age-family groupings more precise but the size of our sample makes it expedient to isolate smaller groupings only among the group of parents with minor children.

Thus, the system of classifying family-age groups that we have employed in our study is the following:

- unmarried youths (unmarried persons under 40);
- young married couples (childless married persons under 40);

- parents of minor children, including:
- families consisting only of parents and minor children (we shall term this the “nuclear family”),
- families consisting of parents, minor children and other relatives (we shall call this the “extended family”),
- and parents in broken families (as a rule, single mothers living with the children);
- older people without minor children (people with grown children, or childless couples over 40).

In certain cases, especially when dealing with data that encompass only a part of the total sample, we make use of broader family-age categories: youth, parents with young children, older people.

Cultural traits. Among the most important conditions of life that go to make up the base conditions of the daily routine is culture. Sociologically, culture is often understood as the system of knowledge, norms, customs, stereotypes and values functioning in a given society. The norms and knowledge that the individual acquires describe his individual culture; the totality of knowledge, norms, etc., existing in a particular community of people, form the cultural level of a stratum, class, or society as a whole. We note that it was in this sense that culture was understood in the later works of V. I. Lenin, where culture, the daily routine and habits are treated as an integral whole.¹ Obviously, such a broad notion of culture embraces a great number of factors that exert the most decisive influences on our daily behavior, for it is these factors that determine the individual's reaction to his environment.

Unfortunately, singling out the variable indices that describe the culture as a whole is an extremely complex and little-studied task. In this study we shall largely confine ourselves to using indices that show the general level of knowledge among a particular group of workers. The natural index here is data on education.

For our purposes and given the size of our sample, it is sufficient to differentiate workers into four groups according to the level of their education:

- those with a four-grade elementary school education

Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 488.

or those who have had no elementary education at all (inasmuch as illiterate persons among urban workers are practically non-existent, we may refer to this category as literate and semi-literate workers);

—those who have completed 5, 6, or 7 grades (i.e., those who have basic education);

—those who have finished 8-11 grades, i.e., well-educated workers,

—and those who have a vocational training or higher education, and also workers who began but did not complete higher education (this is the group of highly educated workers, "worker specialists").

Of course, education cannot describe directly all the aspects of culture in the broad sense. It reflects chiefly a particular level of knowledge for an individual or group. However, the individual's level of education is connected with many other features of culture as well as his value system and concepts. In effect, the higher one's educational level the greater one's knowledge, and along with changes in the level of education also change norms, habits and tastes which determine everyday behavior. In this sense, tracing connections between education and everyday behavior allows us to evaluate the influence of culture as a whole (or at least of changes therein) upon one's mode of life.

Another indirect basis for determining the influence of culture is a comparison of data on everyday behavior in large and small cities. The close connection between culture and a type of behavior is clearly evident from that fact alone that the level of education of workers in large cities is substantially higher than in small towns. It is scarcely possible to doubt that other elements of culture—traditions, norms of behavior, social values—are different in towns of different types. It is apparent even from the data in our study, for example, that one usually marries earlier in small towns and has more children, which facts unquestionably testify to different customs. (In Pavlovo-Posad, only 17 per cent of the working women under 30 are unmarried, and only 25 per cent of them have no children, whereas in large cities, the percentages are: 43 per cent unmarried, 52 per cent childless. 56 per cent of married women in small

lowns have more than one child, only 40 per cent in large cities.) Thus, the size of town may, with a certain degree of probability, indicate not just the level of education, but the general culture of a given group.

2. COMPOSITE INDICES OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE DAILY ROUTINE

Indices for per capita income, housing conditions, family-age status, education, etc., form the backbone of conditions of life that directly determine behavior in the daily routine. But it is impossible to understand their influence on everyday activities if one fails to take into account that they form a sort of composites. Indices of conditions of life accordingly form syndromes of closely interrelated variables.

If one is not aware of the nature of the indices of condition of life, one might reduce the influence of many factors to the influence of one, or gloss over a decisive factor that happens to be closely related to the indices under study at the moment. For a more precise definition of the influence of conditions of life on behavior, one must establish the interrelationships between these factors.

Income and family-age status. Among these interrelationships, we will examine first the relation between per capita income and the stages of the life cycle. In our sample, i.e., adult employed persons, this relationship manifests itself in the fact that people with a high per capita income are found comparatively frequently among young and old workers, while, on the other hand, the percentage of persons with a low or average per capita income is greater among workers with minor children.

The nature of the dependence of per capita income on the stage of the life cycle of a particular group of people is quite clear. The family's per capita income is determined directly by the gross family income and the number of persons in the family. In practical terms, this means that it is not only dependent on the wages of family members, but also on the number of workers in the family, the so-called coefficient of family employment. Moreover, the relatively small difference in wages among workers under socialism leads to the fact that the number of workers in a family influences per

capita income in any case no less than the level of their wages.

In most cases, a young worker either lives alone or with a family in which there are other wage earners or pensioners besides himself. The number of dependents in such families is usually quite small. Elderly workers with grown children are in a similar situation. But for most workers with minor children, the number of dependents is noticeably greater and it is often especially great in extended families in which relatives help out at home. The combined influence of these factors, given the quite insignificant differences in wages, gives rise to the dependence of per capita income in the family on the stage in the life cycle.

Inasmuch as the life cycle is, in turn, closely related to age, the connection between per capita income and age is also apparent. Mean per capita income in groups of workers under 30 and over 40 is usually higher than that of people in their 30s. On the whole, however, the dependence of income on age is much weaker than is the dependence of per capita income on the life cycle.

The existence and nature of such relationships is quite important. It points up, for example, such an important feature of the Soviet working class as the relatively high standard of living among most young workers (as compared to workers with families). Moreover, the dependence of per capita income on the coefficient of family employment presents rather serious problems for society. It is beyond doubt that the reduction of per capita income that occurs when children are added to the family leads to a reduction in the birth rate and, in part, has a negative effect on the material conditions in which children are raised. This circumstance, along with others, is, as a rule, taken into consideration when the competent bodies decide on the distribution of social funds, family allowances, aid to mothers with many children, etc. Socialist society takes into consideration the fact that although material wealth is distributed among workers according to their labor inputs, the actual level of consumption, in the first phase of communism, depends not only on labor contribution but also on a multitude of other factors, among which the stages of the life cycle and the coefficient of family employment are particularly decisive.

A detailed analysis of such factors lies beyond the framework of our study. However, we must constantly keep in mind that per capita income is dependent upon the stage of the life cycle, since changes in these factors have a serious effect on the individual's everyday behavior.

Per capita income and, in part, the stages of the life cycle are likewise related to the possession of private gardens by workers. Although the possession of gardens is important not only because they add to one's well-being but also because they provide a specific form of recreation, the first reason is still of prime importance. In short, families that are not well off make use of private gardens more often than do families that are financially more secure.

Age and education. Many features of the urban worker's mode of life are determined by the interconnection between his age and education: usually the younger the group of workers, the higher their general level of education.

Of the workers studied who were under 30, about half were well educated or specialists; there was almost no semi-literacy in the group. Among older workers, semi-literacy claims a larger proportion and the proportion of well-educated persons in most cases does not exceed one-fourth of the entire group. It is scarcely possible to doubt that the difference in the educational level of the different generations creates a difference in their culture in a broader sense.

The connection between education and age leads naturally to a connection between education and stages of the life cycle, though differences in education among family-age groups are not so striking as those between age groups.

The reasons for the differences in the level of education among age and family-age groups follow from the rapid development of education in Soviet society. The genuine cultural revolution in the USSR and the improved school education mean that each succeeding generation of Soviet citizens receives a better education. This is one of the more important achievements of Soviet power. There are, of course, limits to how long schooling may be extended. One can well imagine, for example, that the universal 10-year school education will reduce, and finally eliminate, the discrepancy in educational indices (the number of grades completed) among the generations of workers.

However, today's scientific and technological revolution has dramatically increased the tempo of cultural development in general, and the accumulation of knowledge in particular. Consequently, the amount of time needed for radical changes in the content of basic knowledge imparted in high school is reduced. While earlier it took a few generations, and in the past, many generations, fundamental knowledge imparted by a general education is now renovated within the individual's lifetime. Thus it follows that people who have, formally, obtained the same school education at different points in time will in fact possess educations that differ in content. In this sense, one may suppose that rapid progress in culture will turn the difference in the level of education of generations into a constant feature of social life.

The connections between per capita income and the life cycle, and also between age and education, are so strong and organic that in many cases they should be viewed together as single, merged conditions of life.

Material well-being and housing conditions. To understand the conditions of the daily routine in Soviet society, it is important to take into account not only the existing interaction of the conditions of life but also, in some cases, the lack of such interaction. In particular, a quite distinctive characteristic of the worker's life under socialism is that the housing conditions do not, as a rule, depend on his income. Since housing is practically free and is publicly controlled, the determining factor in providing apartments is the family's need rather than the ability to pay. In our sample, for example, the proportion of workers with low per capita incomes living in fairly good apartments and that living in poor apartments hardly differs from the average. Such a situation clearly illustrates the equalizing effect of social funds and social forms of distributing material wealth. So profound a social equality in providing apartments hardly requires further elucidation.

Education and standard of living. The lack of a relationship between the level of income and education is more difficult to evaluate. At first glance, such a situation seems abnormal. It is well known that a better education provides higher skills and facilitates the mastery of difficult crafts

and, in the final analysis, means higher wages. It seems natural to expect that a more educated group of workers would have higher wages.

We must point out, however, that among workers there is an obvious correlation between age and education: the formal education of older and more experienced workers is in most cases worse than among young workers. Nevertheless, work experience and seniority prove to be, at least under present conditions, factors as important in raising skills and in competing for positions as education. All this is often reflected in wages and, accordingly, in family income. In short, there is an equilibrium manifested in the lack of dependence of urban workers' income on education.

CHAPTER TWO

TIME AS A MEANS OF DESCRIBING EVERYDAY BEHAVIOR

1. QUALITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF BEHAVIOR

Advantages and disadvantages of the "language of time". To obtain a picture of everyday behavior and the individual's mode of life (to be more precise, the mode of life of the groups of adult workers studied), we shall use data on time allocation, i.e., a more or less detailed enumeration of the types and forms of everyday activity, indicating distribution, frequency and duration. There are a number of reasons for using these data as a language for describing a mode of life.

Above all data on time allocation provide information on a whole complex of different aspects of everyday behavior that are characteristic of a given group. With such data, one can evaluate not only different aspects of life, but give a more or less general description of human activity, in any event with respect to that part that is overt and connected with manifest acts. By using indices of time allocation—and an organic part of this is the very enumeration of basic types of activity—we can present an integral picture of everyday behavior.

The capacity to reflect not just one or two, but a multitude of the aspects of everyday behavior, is not the only feature that provides data on time allocation suitable for describing a mode of life in general and the daily routine in particular. Any meaningful evaluation of time expenditures, as well as their classification, is at the same time a substantive description of different types of activity and everyday behavior as a whole. For example, calculation of the time that a given group expends in communication with friends or in reading is to some extent a qualitative description

of specific aspects of behavior. That the language of time allocation, at least at the present level of sociological technique, gives only a very crude and approximate picture of the content, of the qualitative side of a given type of activity, is another question.

Finally, one other property of the indices of time allocation makes them especially suitable for the description of everyday behavior: as a rule, these indices can be expressed in homogeneous magnitudes—minutes, hours, days, units of frequency, percentages—and so easily lend themselves to quantitative analysis. This circumstance is particularly important, especially as applied to our goal—to attempt to describe behavior in the daily routine through its connections with the basic conditions of life.

Thus, the language of time allocation can encompass a multitude of forms of behavior, can reflect some essential moments in its content and can give a quantitative characterization of the correlation of various forms of activity and their dependence on specific conditions of life. Therefore, we have used data on time expenditures, while distinctly aware of their limitation and at the same time feeling that this instrument of analysis is more suitable for our purposes than any other set of indices. Other indices—e.g., on the motives, norms or results of activity—are convenient chiefly for describing individual aspects of the mode of life. Yielding to them in every such instance, the language of time allocation surpasses all other sets of indices, taken separately, in the ability to give—albeit crudely and approximately—an integral, general picture of behavior in the daily routine.

Elementary types of behavior. As has already been mentioned, data on allocation of time fall into two types of indices: a) a list of activities and types of behavior and b) data on the duration and intensity of these activities. Consequently, we must define, first, the principles by which activities used in describing behavior, its structure and content, will be divided and classified and, second, the units expressing the absolute and relative magnitude of each of the activities examined.

Enumeration of activities is based on the isolation of comparatively simple and more or less homogeneous (in content)

types of behavior—uniform activities that, within the framework of the given study, are considered to be primary, elementary manifestations of human activity. In most works that make use of indices of time, the simplest elements forming the general picture of behavior are such activities as work, sleeping, eating, cooking, purchase of products, housework, reading, child care, visiting, walks, watching television, etc.

The degree of fractionalization of simple activities, the level, so to speak, of their primariness, is determined, on the one hand, by the goal of a study and, on the other hand, by the nature and size of samples. (Excessive subdivision of activities in studying time expenditures can lead, if the sample is relatively small, to mistakes that make all data obtained senseless.) We have isolated for our study about thirty elementary types of activity; the most detail is given to activities that make up the daily routine, outside the sphere of social production and management.

Classification of time expenditures. The mode of life and, what particularly concerns us, behavior in the daily routine, is no simple totality but a definite system of forms of activity that complement one another. Therefore, we must group the elementary types of activity that we have selected into consolidated classes corresponding to broader or, so to speak, basic (and not elementary) categories of activity.

We need data on allocation of time in order to describe the mode of life, which is considered here to be a specific system of types of activity. It is natural, therefore, to classify individual elementary activities with a view to those functions that are inherent in the basic areas of human activity.

One may state that, for most of the adult urban population in contemporary Soviet society, the functions of everyday behavior outside the realm of production and management are the satisfaction of material, social and cultural needs, the physical and socio-cultural reproduction of the human race, and immediate service to family and self. This view of the functions of everyday behavior outside the realm of production allows the grouping of the elementary activities, for which time expenditures are calculated, into consolidated categories based on their functional con-

tent and functional place in the system of everyday activity.

At this point, however, we must deal with a fundamental problem: what scale should we set for the basic categories of human activity? To what extent, to what level, should one consolidate the elementary types of behavior?

We can, for example, easily picture the consumption of spiritual culture as a function of everyday behavior: in individual consumption of culture with a view to rest and recreation, in the consumption of culture at public performances, as study, self-education, etc. By progressive fractionalization of the functions of everyday activity, we arrive at the elementary types of human activity and their reflection in time expenditures.

On the other hand, the gradual consolidation of the functions of the daily routine and of the types of activity that correspond to these functions leads quite rapidly to extraordinarily broad and scarcely useful banalities.

In itself, to say that we must join elementary types of activity on the basis of their functional proximity is to indicate a general rule. As with any system of classification, several levels of consolidation of the initial elements are possible. It is for this reason that a new problem arises: the selection of the basic, most meaningful scale of classification, the isolation of a level of consolidation of simple types of activity and time expenditures that will yield categories and forms of activity that are truly fundamental, what Marx called the "natural and acquired powers".¹ (We should repeat that we are referring to the basic types of activity in everyday behavior, outside the realm of production and management.)

It would seem that the natural, simplest and most logical way to determine this scale is to isolate types of activity that are so broad—but no broader—that they are a constant feature of the everyday behavior of the group of people studied.

The measure of such "everydayness" in the behavior of the overwhelming majority of urbanites is the weekly life cycle. We will posit as the basic level of consolidation that which turns a group of proximate and therefore interchangeable ini-

¹ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1973, p. 488.

tial activities into a type of activity that is irreplaceable and imperative within the framework of the given mode of life.

As an example, the classification of the non-productive activities connected with everyday cultural life should clarify this procedure.¹

These activities include: reading belles lettres and sociopolitical literature, newspapers and magazines, watching television, listening to radio, going to theaters, movies, concerts, museums, and sports events, study, self-education, amateur artistic work, non-professional crafts, etc. Because of the comparative proximity of their functional content, these activities can easily be reduced to four groups (the first level of consolidation and classification). These groups are: individual consumption of culture with a view to leisure, entertainment, obtaining information (reading, watching television, etc.); public consumption of culture with a view to leisure, entertainment, obtaining information

¹ To avoid misunderstanding, it should be stressed that the concept "cultural life" (as well as concepts close to it, viz., "consumption of culture", "participation in culture", etc.) encompasses fewer phenomena than culture in its broad sociological sense, which we apply to the characterization of the conditions of life. Ordinarily, when one speaks (and this applies to scholarly works, too) of cultural life, of activities connected with culture, cultural activity, consumption of culture, etc., one scarcely has in view the activities relating to every aspect of knowledge, norms, concepts or values influencing human behavior (for one would then have to consider all human activities as aspects of "cultural" activity). In practice, when one speaks of cultural activity, one has in mind activities connected with the consumption of a certain part (recognized by society) of spiritual values (or the creation of them); an important feature of cultural life in this narrow sense is that the contact with spiritual values is mediated by specific institutions (the press, television and in general all mass media, institutions that sponsor public performances, libraries, scholarly and cultural institutions, etc.) or at least by custom. One can say, for example, that both the norms of social intercourse and literature are a part of the culture of society in the broad sense; however, only reading is a part of cultural life as this term is used in everyday speech; social intercourse is not a part of cultural life, but a special type of behavior. Thus, here and subsequently, we shall consider cultural life to be the totality of such activities as reading, watching television, attending performances, study, self-education, etc., although we attribute to culture, as one of the conditions of life, a much broader range of phenomena (in practice, all elements of the spiritual life of society that influence behavior)

(attending theaters and movies, etc.); consumption of culture with the conscious purpose of development and improvement (study, self-education); non-professional creativity (invention, rationalization, amateur artistic work, and other amateur activities, etc.).¹

However, can this level of consolidating elementary activities be considered the fundamental scale of classification, and the consolidated categories of activity thereby obtained, basic categories? According to our definition, they cannot be so considered, for the forms of activity at this level of consolidation have not as yet become so widespread in the urban working milieu that each of them by itself is an obligatory element in the everyday behavior of the majority of adult workers (at least, within the framework of the week-long life cycle). These are today not yet imperative, irreplaceable forms of activity. In this sense, they cannot be distinguished from the primary activities of which they are composed—reading, watching television, visiting theaters, study, etc.

Consequently, it is necessary to proceed to the next scale of classification, uniting all the four groups obtained after the first step into a more general category, encompassing all of everyday cultural life or, in other words, all activity connected with participation in culture.² The transition to a broader type of activity leads not only to quantitative changes (as was true at the first level of consolidation), but to a particular qualitative change, too. As distinct from narrower categories, participation in culture is now an imperative, constant element of the worker's daily routine; to one degree or another, this activity can be found in the everyday

¹ This scale of classification of non-productive cultural activities has been employed in a number of studies, in particular in B. A. Grushin's *Free Time* (Moscow, 1967, in Russian) from which we have borrowed the above groupings.

² We use the term "participation in culture" (instead of the more common "consumption of culture") inasmuch as it encompasses activities connected not only with the consumption of culture, but also independent, though non-professional, cultural creativity. All the previous remarks made with respect to the non-coincidence of the term "culture" as designating a special sort of conditions of life and the concept "culture" as used in connection with cultural activity, cultural life, etc., apply with equal force to the term "participation in culture" as a special type of human activity.

behavior of practically every urban worker. We can, therefore, view participation in culture (chiefly, of course, consumption of culture) as one of the basic, imperative forms of everyday activity.

Thus, the gradual unification of proximate activities on an ever broader basis permits the reduction of the great variety of separate types of time allocation to a comparatively small number of basic, imperative types and forms of human activity.

The imperativeness of these forms—the fact that they are all necessarily present in the everyday behavior of all members of a given group (though to a different extent for different individuals)—makes them non-interchangeable or not fully interchangeable. In this sense, the basic types of activity are equivalent (though not equal): all must be present within the framework of the given mode of life; together they constitute the necessary elements of that mode of life.

The historical character of the basic forms of life activity. The basic forms of activity by and large have a distinctly historical and social character: their limits and content change from era to era and from one social group to another.

One hundred years ago, participation in culture (at any rate, in secular culture) was not at all an imperative, constant feature of everyday behavior for the mass of urban laborers. The consumption of culture (not to mention cultural creativity) within the framework of the “reproductive life” to which workers were doomed in the epoch of industrial capitalism was episodic; it was a component part of entertainment, religious activity, etc. The really imperative and, hence, basic form of activity in the daily routine of urbanites of that time was a broader group of activities, connected not only with the consumption of culture but also with all sorts of extrafamilial intercourse, games, participation in religious activities, etc.; consumption of spiritual culture was only one of the possible manifestations of this form of activity, equivalent, shall we say, to the current relationship between the public consumption of culture and participation in culture in general.

In the future, the accelerating rise in the level of education and the gradual saturation of non-productive activity with the consumption of spiritual values, non-professional

creativity, etc., will lead to a further subdivision of the currently imperative category, the activities connected with culture. Its constituent elements—such as individual and public consumption of culture, study, self-education, etc.—will themselves become imperative elements of everyday behavior.

Socio-historical relativity and mobility do not, however, alter the fact that, for every specific period, specific culture and social group, the basic categories of activity form a strictly determined system of a more or less constant magnitude.

There are five basic, imperative types of vital activity in the everyday, non-productive behavior of adult urban workers:

I. Activities connected with the satisfaction of everyday physiological needs (sleep, eating, etc.).¹

II. Housework in its various forms and some forms of service for oneself.

III. Family life and the raising of children.

IV. Selective extrafamilial intercourse for the purpose of rest, entertainment, exchange of information (e.g., entertaining guests, walks, meeting friends).

V. Participation in culture, everyday cultural life.

These form, in our opinion, the basic structure, the backbone of the mode of life outside the realm of production and management (of course, only to the extent that we treat it as a system of everyday behavior). If we add to this list labor in social production or the service industries and participation in civic and political life, we have all the most important, constituent elements of the mode of life of adult workers in the modern Soviet city.

It should be recognized, however, that some activities treated in our study as elementary types of everyday behavior cannot be connected with any of the basic types of activity listed above. Examples in the contemporary worker's daily routine are out-of-town trips, tourism and sports

¹ Strictly speaking, according to our definition each of these types of behavior should be viewed as a particular imperative form of activity. But since a detailed analysis of these aspects of life is not a part of our concern, we will, for practical purposes, unite them in a single category.

activities. Elements of the consumption of culture and at times even cultural creativity are present in all of these activities, as are selective social intercourse, entertainment, games, satisfaction of physiological needs and, above all, contact with nature—yet none of these elements can be considered determinant. These activities form, in effect, a specific type of activity distinct from the basic forms of everyday behavior treated above.

Obviously, we are dealing here with an extraordinarily interesting process—the formation of yet another basic form of everyday behavior (or, perhaps, even two forms). Properly speaking, one expects such “incomplete” forms to be present in the structure of the mode of life; after all, change in the basic forms of behavior—division or unification of old forms, birth of new—is a constant, unceasing process.

The scheme of classification. In order to describe the mode of life of urban workers with the aid of data on time allocation, it seems useful to adopt the following classification of the most widespread, elementary activities and the corresponding time expenditures¹:

- I. *Labor in social production and the service industries.*²
- II. *Activity that is ancillary to and directly connected with labor* (commuting, change of shifts, lunch break, etc.).
- III. *Participation in civic and political activity and management.*
- IV. *Satisfaction of everyday physiological needs.*
 1. Sleep.
 2. Eating.

¹ Only the most widely occurring activities (which is sufficient for our purposes) are included in this classification. In principle, it could include an enumeration of any number of types of activity, describing a mode of life to any degree of detail and amplitude. We should also note that in the designation of the simplest types of time expenditure, as well as groupings, generally accepted formulae have been retained wherever possible.

² The given forms of activity (I, II, III) and the corresponding time expenditures are not given in detail, since they are not a part of the daily routine; labor and civic and political activity are introduced in the scheme to show the correlation of the forms of everyday activity proper and the structure of the mode of life as a whole.

3. Care for oneself and medical treatment.

4. Inactive rest.

V. *Housework.*

A. *Everyday chores.*

1. Shopping.

2. Cooking and related activities (washing dishes, etc.).

3. Cleaning house.

4. Care for clothes, linen and footwear (laundrying, ironing, cleaning).

5. Use of everyday commercial services.

B. *Labor ancillary to the domestic economy.*

6. Work in private subsidiary farms (gardening, care for domestic animals).

7. Household repair and carpentry, repair and making furniture, household appliances, etc.

VI. *Family life and activities with children.*

1. Direct care for small children (bathing and feeding, taking them to nursery school, kindergarten, or school).

2. Other activities with children (games, talk, reading, walks, checking lessons, meeting teachers, etc.).

3. Talks and other forms of social intercourse among adult members of the family.

VII. *Selective extrafamilial intercourse for the purpose of rest, entertainment or exchange of information.*

1. Entertaining guests and visiting.

2. Walks, meeting friends and acquaintances outside the home, visiting parks, clubs, cafes, restaurants, etc.

3. Non-athletic games (dominoes, loto, etc.).

VIII. *Participation in culture.*

A. *Individual consumption of culture for the purpose of rest, entertainment and obtaining information.*

1. Watching television.

2. Reading newspapers and magazines.

3. Reading belles lettres.

- B. *Public consumption of culture for the purpose of rest, entertainment and obtaining information.*
 - 4. Going to movies.
 - 5. Going to theaters, circuses, concerts, etc.
 - 6. Visiting museums and exhibitions.
 - C. *Consumption of culture for the purpose of raising the level of skills and education.*
 - 7. Study in night and correspondence schools, technical schools, universities, etc. (the studies proper and preparation for them).
 - 8. Conscious self-education.
 - D. *Non-professional creativity.*
 - 9. Engagement in invention and rationalization, amateur artistic activity, etc.
- IX. *Physical exercises and communing with nature.*
 - 1. Sports and physical training.
 - 2. Recreation outside town, tourism, hunting, fishing.

The functional classification outlined above does not, of course, exhaust all the possible approaches to grouping time expenditures. For the purposes of our study, it is especially important to turn attention to some global divisions that describe the most common properties of different sorts of activity as they are reflected in time and thus encompass a much broader range of activities than the basic types of activity in our classification. Such global divisions are, for example, working and non-working time, free time, and the distribution of time expenditures into more or less elastic varieties.

Division into working and non-working time accords best with our scheme. This is understandable, for working time is in essence isolated on the functional principle: by working time, most researchers understand the time spent working in social production and the service industries. To obtain the completely precise correlation to the generally accepted division into working and non-working time, it is enough to divide the basic forms of vital activity that are the basis of our classification into two groups: one including work in social production and the service industries (including professional work in management), and the other including all remaining types of activity.

In the context of our study, non-working time has the relatively limited importance of a bounded category, only approximately delimiting a time space, a "field" of everyday activity. It would seem, however, that sociological study of a mode of life should employ a terminology reflecting the difference of labor from other types of life activity more fully than does the division into working and non-working time.

Elastic and non-elastic time expenditures. A grouping of time expenditures according to their elasticity, i.e., their flexibility, the variability of their indices, is also of practical importance for our study. This grouping, just as the use of the concept of non-working time, forms a bounded division that delimits the basic object of the given study. The essence of such division is quite simple.

The duration of any type of activity changes as the conditions in which it takes place change. However, different activities react differently to changing circumstances. For example, in any given historical period, working time for most urban industrial workers is more or less standard: its duration over a week does not change under the influence of the factors considered in our study. On the contrary, the duration, let us say, of reading, sports or amateur activities is extraordinarily dependent on the stage of the life cycle, material well-being, the character of the surrounding environment, and on individual peculiarities; such time expenditures vary noticeably from individual to individual, from group to group.

Division into more or less elastic types of time allocation makes it possible to highlight the problem of primary concern to us—to understand how changes in the conditions of life influence the mode of life.

For our purposes, it is enough to determine the most general differences in the degree of elasticity, by dividing time expenditures on the basic forms of activity into more flexible and variable, and comparatively constant and inflexible. Given this crude but, for our purposes, satisfactory approach, we will not be mistaken to consider the less elastic types of activity to be, first, the basic time expenditures connected with satisfying everyday physiological needs (sleep and eating, but not inactive rest or medical treatment)

and, second, working time, insofar as we are concerned with an instantaneous study, describing a group with an identical (or almost so) duration of socially organized labor activity. All the other basic forms of activity in the daily routine have more elastic time expenditures.

It is to be understood that we will, in the further course of this study, analyze primarily the more elastic types of time utilization, since they establish the actual limits of the everyday behavior that can at all meaningfully be described with the aid of the language of time.

Isolation of free time. For a meaningful characterization of time budgets, as well as for comparison of our classification with the generally accepted scheme, it is useful to compare the functional grouping of the types of time utilization with the category of free time.

In most Soviet studies of time budgets and the problems of time allocation, free time is considered part of the general fund left after calculating the time needed to meet imperative obligations (this is universally taken to mean a quite specific range of activities: labor in social production; activities directly connected with such labor—commuting; housework; activities to meet physiological needs).

The boundaries of free time can in this case be easily correlated with the divisions of our classification: they encompass the time connected with such types of activity as participation in culture and civic and political activity, active physical development and communing with nature, family life and raising children (with the exception of obligatory care for them), selective extrafamilial intercourse, and inactive rest. The activities that enter into these categories—the elementary units of our scheme—are in practice not different from the enumeration of types of time allocation that figure in the majority of Soviet (and foreign) studies of the 50s and 60s as free time.

However, we will use this category relatively infrequently. There is no question that free time, considered as a definite set of activities, is an absolutely necessary concept when used as a bounded category describing the object being studied as a whole. If one is studying those types of time allocation that are included in "free time", the concept

makes it possible briefly and clearly to designate the object of investigation. B. A. Grushin, for example, has treated free time as a set of activities quite successfully.¹ But for the analysis of a mode of life as a whole, or at least of everyday activity outside the realm of production, the category of free time in its current interpretation is necessary only to a relatively slight extent.

Naturally, we cannot, nor do we intend, to dismiss out of hand the concept, which is so widely employed in academic and publicistic literature; in fact, we give it a specific meaning in connection with the study of the social aspects of the daily routine.

The fact that there are properties of behavior that cannot be confined within functional divisions and therefore demand the introduction of the concept of free time is obvious. Yet one cannot, by a simple enumeration of activities, reflect the specific features of behavior that in real life separate free time from the general flow of human activity. If these specific features could be reflected better than is done at present, the isolation of free time would make it possible to formulate a category that would not simply repeat and summarize the characteristics of the divisions in our classification, but would show new, specific features of activity not reflected by any other grouping of time expenditures.

The feeling that many activities are included in the category of free time quite arbitrarily, and the impossibility of getting more satisfactory results by excluding particular activities, is in our opinion indirect evidence that free time, in the direct, natural understanding of the term, is different from a given set of activities.

The arbitrariness of the division of activities into those that do and do not belong to the category of free time is apparent, too, when this category is compared with many of the time expenditures in different areas of activity.

At first glance, for example, it seems legitimate to exclude housework from free time. But how can we separate free and non-free time in the care for children? Why is it

¹ See B. A. Grushin, *Free Time* (in Russian).

wrong to consider bathing children free time while walks with them is so considered? Yet the unqualified inclusion of care for children within free time is also unpersuasive. Another example: work in a private subsidiary farm or garden is usually imperative, caused by the need to obtain supplementary income. In this case, it is correct to exclude time spent in such labor from free time. Yet it is easy to see beyond the obvious. After all, work in a garden is now not infrequently a pleasure, an activity that one resorts to not only for the sake of income, but from the desire to commune with nature, to exert one's physical energies for good health, to provide variety in one's activities.

This impossibility to express concisely the essence of free time by enumerating activities is apparent even in the realm of time allocated to the consumption of culture. Study is especially indicative. Both the inclusion and the exclusion of this activity from free time seem equally unconvincing: study can be both a free and a non-free use of time.

Finally, there is an element of incommensurability even in the relationship between free and working time, which we mentioned above. Yet the comparison and juxtaposition of working and free time is one of the bases for a definition of the latter category through an enumeration of activities.

As is apparent, the indeterminacy of isolating free time with the aid of a set of activities touches all sides of this category. And it is not a matter of separate mistakes: construing free time through any set of types of activity is unpersuasive; the fact is that free time and functional types of time allocation (labor in social production, sleep, eating, housework, study, etc.) reflect different, though related, aspects of behavior. They are categories based on different principles; they do not supplement, but interpenetrate each other.

Our interpretation of the concept of free time starts from the fact that it is impossible clearly and without contradiction to connect free time with any specific set of activities. This shows that free time is not a type of activity in the same sense as are labor, reading, study, sleep, and so on.

Rather, free time is a special form or special character of carrying out any (or almost any) type of activity. Above all, we should not forget the fact that in the everyday use of time, free time is—and is usually felt to be—the most valuable part of activity.

The fact that free time is connected with activity that is not simply necessary for the attainment of goals external to it, but is important in itself, was unequivocally stressed by Marx. "...Free time," he said, "*disposable time*, is wealth itself, partly for the enjoyment of the product, partly for free activity which—unlike labor—is not dominated by the pressure of an extraneous purpose which must be fulfilled, and the fulfilment of which is regarded as a natural necessity or a social duty, according to one's inclination."¹

In our opinion the distinction between activity valuable in itself and activity to meet an external goal opens the way to a theoretical definition of free time that will allow us to overcome many of the contradictions inherent in its current interpretation.

In fact, all activities or homogeneous periods of man's activity can be divided into two categories. One includes those acts and periods of activity that are important to the individual only because of their external results (material or spiritual), but are not valuable in and of themselves. Time expenditures connected with activities of this sort are perceived as necessary, unavoidable, in a certain sense unfree. Given the condition that the same results be achieved, the individual strives to reduce such expenditures of time. For most modern urbanites, such activities are, for example, many (but not all, and not for everyone) activities related to housework. Some types of labor in industry are of an analogous character; though under socialism labor has become an honorable duty, it is as yet not a prime necessity.

Actions and activity that are in and of themselves important for the individual or, more precisely, *also* important

¹ Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*, Part III, Moscow, 1971, p. 257.

in themselves and not only for their results, form a different category. It is the activity itself that is perceived as a value. Frequently, the very use of time connected with such activity is the activity's primary purpose. To the extent that it does not affect other interests, the individual tries to extend—or at least, not to reduce—the magnitude and intensity of such activities. By their nature, these activities, valuable in themselves, are much less in need of any kind of reinforcement. The determining influence of the external environment and conditions of life has here a less rigid character than with respect to necessary activity. It is natural that activities important for their own sake are perceived as free activity, as “disposable time”. Activities of this sort, depending on the objective conditions of life and on personal characteristics, include reading, creative labor, visiting museums, meeting friends; but under specific conditions, such activities may also include those that are far from the ideals of socialism (drunkenness, idleness, etc.).

Proceeding from this approach, it is logical to *consider free time to be behavior that is valuable in itself or the time of those actions and those periods of activity in which there is an element of value-in-itself.*

The essential feature and, it would seem, the advantage of our construction of free time is the fact that it does not discard present definitions, but in a certain sense subsumes them as less precise, approximate characterizations. It is easy to see that activity that is valuable in itself and time spent on such activity is, to put it crudely, principally time of mental, social, aesthetic and physical activity connected above all with rest, entertainment, the development of the individual, time free from the execution of obligatory tasks. In effect, our concept of free time is an attempt to make precise, not to reject unconditionally, the definitions adopted in most studies of the last decade.

Unfortunately, it must be admitted that the precision of our definition is at present of a theoretical, academic nature. Practical implementation of this conception of free time requires the development of a new method for collecting and analyzing sociologically data on time allocation. In sociological research today, there is no way to isolate free time

other than to equate it with a specific set of time allocations. This does not mean, however, that such methods will not be developed in the future.

2. QUANTITATIVE DESCRIPTION OF EVERYDAY BEHAVIOR

Having enumerated the simplest expenditures of time, which are considered, in the context of this study, the initial elements of everyday behavior, and having joined these expenditures into major groups, it is possible to interpret meaningfully data on time allocation. Figures on time spent on specific types of activity make it possible to determine what makes up the everyday behavior, the mode of life of the group under study. The duration and frequency of activities serve, though somewhat crudely, as indices of the comparative importance and intensity of the activities, of their place in the mode of life of a given group. In other words, enumerating and classifying activities make it possible to determine what takes place, while quantitative measurement makes it possible to determine the duration, extent, necessity and urgency of these activities.

Weekly expenditures of time. As has already been indicated, the present study employs primarily data on weekly expenditures of time, calculated on the basis of every subject's consecutive record of all his activities in the course of one working and two non-working days. Therefore, the basic quantitative index of behavior (use of time) in our study is the mean duration of each recorded activity within a given group over the course of a week.

Insofar as we deal not with individuals but with groups, insofar as we analyze the daily routine of the "statistical individual", data on the mean duration of time expenditures serves better than anything else to meet our basic goal—description of the dependency of the mode of life, of everyday behavior, on the conditions of life. To understand the nature of this dependent relationship it is not the absolute magnitude or duration of a given activity that is of significance, but rather the extent and character of a change in duration as the conditions of life change. Data on the mean duration

of various types of activity is in most cases adequate to discern these changes.

Naturally, in our subsequent presentation it will be necessary to consider the inevitable limitation of average magnitudes: they conceal differences in the magnitude of time expenditures within the groups studied. Use of mean figures is especially crude in the analysis of types of activity that are relatively infrequent, that is, which do not occur every day or every week.

Therefore, although the generalized character of average magnitudes is one of their basic advantages, their relativity is not always convenient. This is the more necessary to consider, because many types of everyday activity connected with participation in culture or selective activity and being especially interesting in describing mode of life are outside the limits of the weekly life cycle. In a number of cases, it is legitimate to use, along with figures on the mean duration of particular activities, some supplementary indices that can make up for a certain "artificiality" of weekly averages and indicate the limits of their relativity.

The most frequent supplementary index will be data on how widespread a given activity is in the course of the days included in the time budget studied (the so-called frequency of different types of time expenditures). Correlation of the average magnitude and the frequency of time expenditures makes it possible to picture the real duration, and in part the periodicity, of the given activities.

Sometimes, we will supplement mean figures with indices of the distribution of individual values around the mean; this allows us to determine the extent to which actual time expenditures differ from the average.

Data for an extended period. We employ special quantitative indices to measure data on time allocation over a period longer than a week. These data are drawn from the subjects' reports on the number of activities or events of a specific type over the course of a month or sometimes a year (number of books read, movies seen, etc.) or the subjects' evaluation of the regularity of certain types of activity (sports, amateur artistic work, etc.). In such cases, the quantitative index does not refer to duration, but to the statistical distribu-

tion of the subjects according to the number of repetitions of a specific type of activity over a month or a year and of the regularity of such activity. Consequently, expenditure of time is depicted indirectly, by results, frequency and regularity, rather than directly.

Such quantitative indices show the actual duration of the activities in question much more crudely than mean data on time expenditures. However, for a number of activities it is just this information about an extended period that provides a trustworthy picture.

Supplementing and verifying each other, both types of the quantitative indices—the duration of time expenditures over a week and the monthly figures for books read, movies seen, etc.—give an adequate picture of the comparative intensity of behavior under different conditions of life.

Duration of individual activities. We should remember, however, that all the indices listed above, whatever they express directly—duration, frequency, distribution, and regularity of given activities—serve to show the comparative magnitude of the corresponding expenditures of time. At the same time, some other properties of activity are also subject to quantitative measurement.

The duration of any activity depends not only on the demand for this activity and on the conditions of life, but also on the magnitude of certain time expenditures required in the course of a day, week, month, etc. These activities vary in their urgency. In a situation admitting of choice (a typical situation in behavior and time allocation), the more urgent time expenditures are independent of or only weakly dependent on the less urgent; the latter, on the contrary, are highly dependent on the magnitude of the more urgent activities. In this sense, one can speak of the degree, level or measure of urgency as a specific property of time expenditures.

Generally speaking, the urgency of time expenditures is an individual property, for every individual has his own sequence (or order) of activities as determined by their comparative priority and importance. This scale of the urgency of time expenditures reflects, in the final analysis, the scale of values of the given individual or group. The less

the expenditures of time on a given activity diverge within a specific group of people, the more inevitable and urgent they are for that group. An absolute coincidence of the duration of specific activities in a group—a situation that is, of course, improbable—would testify to an absolute urgency, a complete inevitability of those time expenditures under the given conditions.

That duration of sleep cannot differ greatly among most adults indicates its great urgency, that is, the fact that the period of sleep (for people as a whole, but not in every instance!) is only weakly dependent on other time expenditures. Similarly, the comparative uniformity of the amount of working time reflects its great urgency for those people employed in production. On the other hand, the great fluctuation in the duration of many amusements, their great dissimilarity within one and the same group, speaks of the low urgency of the relevant time expenditures, for the fluctuation reflects the fact that these activities can be easily compressed or extended, abandoned altogether for long periods, and so on.

The mechanism that determines time expenditures. Measuring comparative urgency expands our picture of the mechanism that determines time expenditures, of the interaction of factors that determine their duration. Until now, studies of time budgets have focused primarily on the dependence of given time expenditures on factors external to the allocation of time. This sort of analyses correctly presumes that the conditions of life determine individuals' demands and the most important motives of their behavior, and in so doing determine (in the statistical sense) the magnitude of specific expenditures of time. However, the duration of a specific type of activity is dependent not only on the intensity of given demands, but also on the time necessary for other activities. Time spent, let us say, in reading is determined not only by the demand for it (a factor directly related to the level of culture, the system of values and so on); the time needed to satisfy all other demands is no less important.

Position on the scale of urgency denotes the importance of a given type of activity as compared to others, it shows which time expenditures are more urgent and, consequently,

are determined to some degree independently of the rest. The more urgent an activity under the given conditions, the more important are external conditions of life in determining its duration; the less urgent an activity, the more complex the mechanism that determines its limits, the greater the role played by the restraining influence of other, more urgent, time expenditures.

Part Two
ASPECTS OF THE URBAN
DAILY ROUTINE

CHAPTER THREE

HOUSE WORK. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Over the last half-century, the daily life of urbanites in the USSR has been deeply influenced by the political, socio-economic and ideological changes caused by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism. Especially profound changes have occurred in the areas of rest, recreation, acquisition of information and the satisfaction of man's intellectual, aesthetic and social needs. As a result of the transformation of society's political structure, of the radical changes in the economic and social conditions of the workers' lives, of a genuine revolution in the culture of the masses, and as a result of scientific and technological progress, the following have become ordinary activities to one extent or another in all strata of the population: study; reading newspapers, magazines and books; watching television; attending movies, theatrical performances and concerts; participating in civic work and amateur work and artistic activities; physical training and sports. These activities have constrained traditional forms of urban leisure-time activity such as visiting and entertaining guests, strolling and so on (the content of such traditional activities, in turn, has not gone unaffected by the general and cardinal changes in the life of society), and have almost wholly displaced such activities as, for example, attending church services and performing religious rites in general.

All the same, though progress in this area of activity among the population of the USSR is profound, the structure and character of the urban daily routine does not yet cor-

respond fully to the role assigned in the Program of the CPSU and in the plans of communist construction. Among the drawbacks of contemporary urban life one must include, first of all, the extraordinarily large amount of time and energy the adult population devotes to housework and subsidiary farming. According to the data of our study, which accord fully with the results of other surveys of time budgets carried out in the Soviet Union,¹ working women must spend a major portion (almost half) of their non-working time (not otherwise consumed by sleep, eating, care for oneself) on housework; male workers expend approximately one-quarter of such time in this activity (see Table 1).

Naturally, the major economic and social achievements of Soviet people have had a positive effect on this sector of the daily routine. Historically this sort of time expenditures shows a tendency toward steady reduction. In the last 30 to 40 years, time expenditures connected with housework have been reduced by about 20 per cent, freeing about 2.5 hours per week for men and 7 hours for women.

The great amount of time expended on housework has an enormous, and often decisive, influence on the structure of everyday behavior, on the content and forms of all other aspects of the everyday routine. Reduction of these time expenditures is at present one of the most important sources for the further increase of leisure time and a harmonious development of the individual in socialist society.

1. CONDITIONS OF LIFE AND HOUSEWORK

The roles of husbands and wives in the daily routine. The enormous importance of the social problems engendered by time-consuming housework is due in part to the inequali-

¹ See data from the last decade in the studies by: V. G. Baikova, A. S. Duchal, A. A. Zemtsov, *Free Time and the Harmonious Development of the Individual*, Moscow, 1965, p. 53; V. D. Patrushev, *Time as an Economic Category*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 192-94; V. A. Artemov and others, *Statistics of Workers' Time Budgets*, Moscow, 1967, pp. 85, 152, 153, 155; P. P. Maslov, *Sociology and Statistics*, Moscow, 1967, p. 243; *Social Research*, Issue 6 ("Problems of Workers' Time Budgets"), Moscow, 1970, pp. 130-31, 190-91; *The Time Budget of the Urban Population*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 70, 83 (all in Russian).

ty of women and men in the daily routine. The CPSU Program views the overcoming of the remnants of this inequality as one of the most important tasks in communist construction.¹ Working women devote from 2 to 2.5 times more of their time to housework than do the men, therefore they have less opportunity for rest, raising their professional skills, and cultural levels—in general, less opportunity for their own development.

Naturally, married men spend more time on household affairs than do the unmarried (see Table 18). But the transition from youth to family life gives rise to an even greater gap between the amount of time spent by men and women on housework. This gap is approximately 12 hours a week among unmarried youth and young childless families, but reaches 18-20 hours a week in families with minor children.

Although as the family expands and the volume of housework increases men must take care of a growing amount of household activities, their share is ever smaller. This is quite apparent in the materials of our study: women in broken families (mothers of children born out of wedlock, widows, divorcees) spend 3 to 6-8 hours less per week on housework than do the mothers in complete families, though the ratio of able-bodied members of the family is usually bigger in the latter case. Obviously, waiting on the husband is an important part of the domestic obligations of married working women.

Surmounting the overburdening of women in everyday concerns is hindered by the norms of everyday behavior carried over from the patriarchal past. Far from imposing on men obligations equal to women's in running the household, these norms prescribe that men avoid such concerns. This obstacle is all the more serious since a residual, rudimentary system of traditions, expectations and patterns that orient girls to taking care of the future family and boys to the consumption of the products of the household labor of future wives continues to operate. The extent to which this orientation has been internalized is shown in the great difference

¹ *22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Minutes*, Vol. III, Moscow, 1962, p. 300 (in Russian).

in time spent on the demands of the daily routine and on taking care of oneself among young male and female workers living in dormitories (i.e., in more or less identical living circumstances and outside the direct influence of the family, which usually imposes much more housework on girls than on boys). The average duration of housework among men living in dormitories was about 5-6 hours per week, while for women it was three times greater (about 18 hours), the difference between them being more than 12 hours per week (!).

These patterns—and, consequently, the inequality of women in the daily routine—are reinforced when and if women share the conviction that housework is “woman’s work”, that the predominance of the woman’s role in household chores is not only natural but even satisfactory. Running the household is in this case not perceived as something stultifying or, at the least, as a serious obstacle to developing one’s own personality. “I have worked my whole life, but have always liked to take care of the house and to do everything with my own hands,” wrote a sixty-year-old woman, an accountant by profession and the mother of five children, to *Literary Gazette*. “A person obtains satisfaction from any work, be it washing, mending or cleaning the apartment.”¹

Such convictions, at least in their “pure” form, are no longer held by many working women; for example, in 1966 among 300 working women surveyed at the Marat Candy Factory in Moscow, in answer to a question as to whether the man should engage in housework, only one expressed the opinion that “the home is not a man’s affair”, while the rest answered the question affirmatively.² The majority of working women ever more often and insistently incline to the view that the husband should help the wife in domestic affairs and, in general, participate more actively in work in the home, should take on himself a part of the household functions. Nevertheless, that the ideas of the exceptional

¹ *Literary Gazette*, No. 36, September 4, 1968, p. 11 (in Russian).

² See G. A. Slesarev, Z. A. Yankova, “Woman in Industry and in the Family”, *Social Problems of Labor and Production. A Soviet-Polish Comparative Study*, Moscow-Warsaw, 1969, p. 432 (in Russian).

role of women in running the household still dominate is shown in the excessive importance that many women attribute to their prestige as a good housewife (in the course of this same survey, the opinion was expressed that "a good housewife will always find the time, energy and means to keep the house neat", that "a good housewife does not need special aid"). And these conceptions, of course, hamper the overcoming of the inequality of women in the daily routine, the redistribution of housework.

Stages of life and the domestic work load. However, the inequality of household labor appears not only in the different work load of women and men. Differences in time spent on housework are connected with its very nature, with the fact that the consumer of the services, food, etc., produced in the domestic economy is the family. Therefore, young unmarried male and female workers spend the least time on housework—whether they live with their parents or separately. And it is not simply that they perform less housework, but that in general they perform less than needed for "self-satisfaction". In this sense, young workers are either a special sort of dependents of their parents or other relatives, or, if they live independently, are especially intensive consumers of social services. Among young childless couples, who as a rule run their household on a "self-satisfaction" principle, relevant expenditures of time are substantially greater than among unmarried youth.

The volume of these time expenditures grows further at the ensuing stage of the life cycle—among the parents of minor children. This is understandable and natural: to services for the married couple itself are added services for the children.

Finally, among the oldest group of workers studied, there is either no reduction of housework that one would expect, or the reduction is insignificant. One must suppose—and we will for the time being limit ourselves to this hypothesis—that for this group, housework consists not only of services to self, but is also in part service for others, aid to grown children and other relatives.

Aid from relatives. The distribution of family obligations and, consequently, the magnitude of time spent on housework, are influenced not only by the specific roles that

husband and wife play in the family but, to one degree or another, by other differences in family positions, too.

As is to be expected, there is a difference in the domestic work load between the parents of minor children in nuclear families and the parents whose families include other adult relatives, who function no differently than the married couple itself when it comes to the distribution of housework.

The data of our study allow us to establish the approximate amount of time saved by the parents of minor children when other adult members of the family participate in housework. In large cities, the time saved is not very noticeable—about two hours per week for women—while in Pavlovo-Posad it was substantial: three hours for women and one for men. We should caution, however, that these data outline a tendency toward redistribution of housework between the fathers and mothers of minor children and other adult members of the family rather than present the whole picture, since the most varied circumstances are not herein considered: the number of children in the given families and their age, the objective characteristics of the relatives rendering aid (are they old or young, men or women, are they engaged only in housework, are they able to work or do they themselves require assistance, etc.), the presence or absence of aid from other relatives.

However, evidence can be found in these materials to support the supposition that the data adduced above as to the savings of time by the working parents of minor children in families with relatives who render assistance reduce these "savings" rather than increase them. Among such evidence are data on time expended in satisfying daily needs and serving oneself among two groups of workers studied: those over 40 years of age without minor children, and young couples who are not yet saddled with children. Comparison of these categories of workers is useful because, from the formal point of view (if we assume that rendering services to other members of the family is connected chiefly with the presence of young children), housework for both groups should basically consist of service to self, and, consequently, time expended on housework should be approximately identical. In reality, there is a significant difference in

the magnitude of these expenditures: older workers in large cities engage in housework 5-6 hours more per week than do young couples; in Pavlovo-Posad, the difference is also six hours. What is the reason for this discrepancy?

Obviously, there are two basic factors. One is the fact that many older male and female workers help run the households of their adult children and other relatives. The other relates to culture: the older generation of workers is oriented more to housework, while younger workers are more keenly "inclined" to contemporary forms of life—such as study, extrafamilial intercourse, public performances, etc. The scale of values of the older generation, being somewhat different from that of working youth, sanctions this redistribution of housework between generations.

It would be incorrect to evaluate the social importance of this fact only negatively. Under the circumstances, when great expenditures of time on housework are connected with the underdeveloped service sector of the economy, it is precisely due to the help of the old that many young people have the chance to study, to improve their skills, to turn to the sources of modern culture, to spend time with friends, etc.

Yet one should not forget the other side of this phenomenon. Our materials do not deal with retired fathers, or mothers who are only housewives, but with workers engaged in social production for a full working day and a full working week. For them, housework is not their basic occupation, but extra work: for women, it is another working day, for men—another half working day. As is evident from Table 18, they spend almost as much time on housework as the group of workers most weighted down with domestic obligations—the fathers and mothers of minor children. The practice of transferring domestic cares to the shoulders of older members of the family—grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts (including those working)—at times engenders conflict situations. But one should not see only the negative features of these divergences between generations: they stimulate society more energetically and more purposefully to seek ways to reduce housework.

"Minimizing" the daily routine: two approaches to the

problem. It is to be understood that the aid of the husband and relatives can significantly ease the domestic burdens of a married working woman, but a radical solution to the important and difficult problem of "minimizing" housework is connected, fundamentally, with its intensification. Various social utopias have expounded the idea that the complete replacement of housework by socially produced services is the ideal solution to this problem. Echoes of such ideas can sometimes be heard in modern literature, especially science fiction. However, if we are not trying to divine the distant and boundless future, but to study present-day tendencies in the development of the family and daily life, the conclusion is quite clear: the sphere of social services will not, over the next few decades, fully replace the family production of services.

And it is not just technical difficulties that are the reason for this, though the "industry of the daily routine" will, in fact, hardly be able in this period to take over all services for every family. It is a matter of the very nature of housework, which is, in effect, the last stage in the movement of many of the products and services produced by society to the consumer, and in this respect housework cannot but be individualized. Every family is *sui generis*, and its household is adjusted to the habits, tastes and temperaments of its members. In the final analysis, the household serves to consolidate the family, and so, many or some aspects of housework cannot be wholly absorbed by the service sector even when the latter is able to take on itself the production of corresponding services.

But this is a question of the future, while at present the principal and truly urgent task is to make the urban daily routine, "overloaded" with domestic concerns, easier through the application of socially produced services. The potential of developed socialist society in this area is enormous. Understanding that a complete replacement of the household economy by socially produced services is a utopian expectation helps to develop a broad and, what is most important, realistic program for easing and reducing housework. Such a program envisages not only the displacement of housework by the social service sector, but also providing modern technology for housework. This second approach

reflects, in particular, the opinions and desires of women who need help in the first instance.¹

The rapid reduction of time consumed by housework is a task of enormous social importance, and Soviet society is directing the most serious efforts to this goal. But the real potential for solving this problem in a fundamental way has appeared only in the last 15-20 years, after the material base of a developed socialist society was created and after the final healing of the wounds inflicted by war.

In the Soviet Union, matters stand best in supplying the urban population with such services as central heating, running water, plumbing, and electricity: in practice, services of this sort already reach the majority of urbanites. Since the end of the 1950s, gas lines to urban apartments have been laid on a large scale, and at present more than two-thirds of urban public housing have been supplied with gas.

The production of many household appliances, insignificant at the beginning of the 1950s (in 1950, only 300 washing machines and 1,200 refrigerators were produced in all), is increasing rapidly. This is evidenced by the following data: at the beginning of the 1960s, only 4 per cent of all families had refrigerators and washing machines, while in 1971, for every 100 families there were 57 washing machines and 38 refrigerators. The production of other modern household appliances for easing housework is also expanding.

Matters stand worse with respect to communal services and public catering, though here, too, development is rapid: in 1970, 9,200 enterprises equipped with modern technical appliances were put into operation, including 4,500 communal service centers, about 900 laundromats and dry cleaning

¹ "Analysis of the opinion of working women revealed a number of interesting constants," write the authors of one of the studies undertaken within the framework of the joint Soviet-Polish program for studying the social problems of labor and the daily routine. "The majority of women give priority to so-called light mechanization, i.e., to equipping the home with household appliances, while the minority favor the industrialization of daily life. In the opinion of women, light mechanization preserves the traditional forms of family life and thus stabilizes the family." (G. A. Slesarev, Z. A. Yankova, "Woman in Industry and in the Family", *Social Problems of Labor and Production*, p. 437, in Russian.)

establishments, and 900 repair shops for household appliances.

As we see, the USSR has already laid a quite solid base for a significant savings of labor and time in the domestic production of services—and this base is constantly expanding. For the years 1971-75, the volume of capital investment in this sector will be almost twice (1.9) as great as in the preceding five years. The laundromat capacity introduced in the Ninth Five-Year Plan will constitute two-thirds of the number of laundromats existing at the beginning of that period, the capacity of dry cleaning establishments will double, and automobile service centers will increase by over 5 times. However, the material and technical reconstruction of the daily routine will not come about automatically, but in interaction with various, above all cultural, factors in the daily routine.

Before turning to an analysis of this interaction and, in general, to an elucidation of the influence of culture on housework, we shall examine the relation between expenditures of time by urban workers in their domestic economy and the level of per capita income.

The influence of per capita income on housework. At first glance, the direction of this influence seems obvious—one must, after all, pay for the services produced for the household economy by society, just as one must pay for the means that ease housework (household appliances, detergents, etc.). In fact, one of the reasons, expressed in the course of various surveys, for not desiring to utilize some social services was their relative expensiveness.¹ One might suppose that, for this reason, the duration of housework depends directly on the level of per capita income among workers in major

¹ In a survey conducted by Leningrad sociologists, the most important reason why families did not use cafeterias was the expense of eating out in comparison with the domestic preparation of food (according to 35 per cent of those surveyed in Leningrad and 20 per cent, in Kostroma. See A. G. Kharchev, S. I. Golod, *Women's Professional Careers and the Family*, Leningrad, 1971, p. 85. The results of another study at enterprises in Moscow, Penza, and Leningrad also indicated that more than half of the working women questioned felt that lunch at home was "cheaper, tastier and more pleasant" than in cafeterias. See G. A. Slesarev, Z. A. Yankova, "Woman in Industry and in the Family", p. 432 (both in Russian).

cities, where the service sector is relatively well developed, whereas this dependency would not be evident in a small town.

In fact, these suppositions are unfounded, primarily because the service sector is still not sufficiently developed and expenditures on services constitute an insignificant portion of the budget for the overwhelming majority of workers' families. For this reason alone, differences in the level of income cannot have any real importance in this area. When the social production and consumption of such services become widespread, differences in families' per capita income may make themselves felt.

Even when there is a dependence between time spent on housework and the level of income—for example, among workers in major cities—it is in fact a transmuted form of the dependence of these time expenditures on the family situation of the subjects (it should be remembered that the level of per capita income depends in part on the "coefficient of family employment"). If the connection between per capita income and time expenditures on housework is isolated from the influence of family situation, it will turn out that no general tendencies can be traced (see Table 10).

The connection between an increased income and a reduction in housework is quite clear in one family-age group: among mothers of minor children (increasing monthly per capita income up to 80-90 rubles leads to a reduction of housework from 33-34 hours per week to 28-29 hours). A good material situation allows the housewife to "maneuver" better, to use more rationally the time allocated to satisfying the family's daily needs.

However, the small extent of the changes even in this case (not to speak of other groups of subjects) testifies that the level of income by itself, the material well-being of the family in the narrow sense of the word, is only weakly reflected in the length of time members of the family spend on housework.

Differences in cultural levels and the attitude to the household economy. Examining the relationship between housework and material and family-age conditions, we constantly meet up with factors of another sort—the level of culture of the group under investigation and the subculture of its

various strata (we should recall in particular the orientation of girls to assuming the traditional role of housewife). These factors deserve special examination. Understanding their influence on the character, magnitude and structure of housework is one of the most important prerequisites for understanding the laws operating within the daily routine. We shall attempt to trace some of the tendencies in housework that are affected by changes in the culture of urban industrial workers.

As has been noted before, we must in this study confine ourselves in most cases to but one of the many and varied indices of culture, to be specific: the workers' level of education. Such a limitation is not only required, it is even justified insofar as a change in the level of education denotes not only an increase in the volume of knowledge but also changes in norms, customs and models that regulate the everyday behavior of man and the character and extent of his participation in housework.

Indeed, the indices in composite Table 18 seem to support this position, testifying to the inverse relation between the magnitude of housework and the level of education of the workers studied (though there are of course deviations from this norm).

We should keep in mind, however, that the younger a given group of workers, the higher the average level of their education. Consequently, this dependency may be only a transmuted form of the influence of age and the corresponding position of the individual in the life cycle. We will try to resolve this doubt by examining the correlation between the duration of housework and the level of education in different family-age groups. (Figures represent housework, including care for children, in hours and minutes per week. See the table on page 83.)

As is apparent, a higher level of education is almost always accompanied by a reduction in housework. This tendency is especially noticeable among women; among working men, it is somewhat weaker, but clearly manifest, too.

Naturally, a higher level of education by itself does not increase the productivity of housework, but it so alters the individual's scale of values that the household economy

| | WOMEN | | | | MEN | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| | 4 grades and less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | speci- al edu- cation | 4 grades and less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | speci- al edu- cation |
| Unmarried youth | 27.50 | 19.30 | 15.30 | 19.30 | 7.40 | 5.30 | 6.00 | 1.20 |
| Parents of minor children | 41.00 | 36.10 | 35.50 | 32.30 | 13.10 | 16.00 | 13.00 | 9.30 |
| Older people | 30.40 | 26.50 | — | — | 18.10 | 16.50 | 17.30 | — |

must "make room" for other activities. The results of our study show that the mechanism of this process is not neglect of family responsibilities (naturally, we have in mind the "general rule" and not isolated instances), but the attempt by more educated workers to organize their domestic chores more rationally. It is symptomatic that, with a rise in the level of education among workers studied, the percentage of those families that have household appliances grows. This is the more interesting because a high level of education among the workers is not necessarily accompanied by essential differences in family well-being. Thus, there is an undoubted tendency for time spent running the household to fall as housework is intensified and as the level of workers' education rises.

Traditional norms for running the household are shattered not only by higher levels of education, but also by general changes in cultural climate. In this respect, differences in the duration of housework between workers in small towns and large cities, and also between urbanites proper and those inhabitants of suburbs who work in cities, deserve attention (see Table 18).

The time working women in Pavlovo-Posad spend on housework is greater than among housewives in major cities by about 5-10 hours per week (depending on age and family situation). Working women who live in suburbs spend about 2 hours a week more on housework than do women who live in the city. Among working men in Pavlovo-Posad, time

spent on housework every week is 3-8 hours greater than among workers in major cities. For suburbanites, the difference in time expenditures as compared to city dwellers is also substantial—an average of 4-5 hours per week. These differences stem not only from material and economic factors, in particular poorer service in small towns and suburbs, but also from differences in the structure of values and in cultural orientation.

2. TYPES OF HOUSEWORK

Most activities that comprise housework are in principle subject to the general patterns described above: as a rule, they are of longer duration for women, for parents of minor children, for members of the older generations. Reduction of time spent on the routine needs is connected both with society's economic development and with changes in culture. There are special features in each of these types of activity, of course, and for some the differences decidedly outweigh the general features inherent in housework as a whole.

Some types of housework are the domain largely of women, as will become evident from our further exposition, while others are the domain of men. But the total figures on duration of housework indicate that "women's" activities comprise the basic housework, that it is these activities that consume an especially large amount of non-working time and form a sort of second shift for working women.

Shopping. Going to stores and markets is one of the most common activities in the daily routine of urban workers: over the course of the three days studied, this activity was noted in the time budgets of 88 per cent of the women and 74 per cent of the men (this is for working husbands the most common type of housework—see Table 2). The large amount of time spent shopping—including going from home to store, between stores, and back home—is to some extent connected with the daily repetition of this activity: working women spend about 6 hours a week shopping (15-20 per cent of the total time spent in housework), male workers spend more than 3 hours a week (20-25 per cent of total housework).

Another feature of this practically inevitable element of the domestic economy is the relatively small (against the background of the constants of housework) differences in the amount of time spent shopping by youth, married workers with children, and older people; by workers with different levels of education, different per capita income, and different access to communal services. The difference is not very great even between the women and men (see Table 18).

The amount of time spent shopping is influenced by demographic considerations—sex, age, family situation—more than by any other conditions. The direction of their influence is in principle the same as on the total amount of time spent on housework (men spend less time shopping than women, youth spend less time than married people, etc.), but the results are somewhat different: the contrasts are less. For example, among working men the average time spent shopping is more than half of the time that working women spend going to stores—3 hours a week as opposed to 5-6 hours (in major cities), while the duration of total housework by men is much less than half of the corresponding figures for women. Young male and female workers spend 2-2.5 times less time doing housework than do married workers with children, but the young spend only 1.5 times less time shopping (4-5 hours a week against 6-7 hours for women, 2 hours against 3 hours for men).

Apparently changes in habits and customs that in one way or another affect all aspects of the daily routine of workers in the contemporary Soviet city have a definite influence on this aspect of everyday behavior; at any rate, there is in our day no "taboo" against men making minor, everyday purchases—the historical roots of that taboo clearly lie in the period when urban women in their overwhelming majority were engaged only in housework and not in social production. At the same time, a large portion of the purchases that men make do not require much experience and are quite suitable for those less "skilled" in housework. The increase in the production of this sort of product (including semi-prepared food and prepackaged products) is basic to the more active participation of men in the household economy and for a corresponding redistribution of housework between men and women.

Kitchen work. Food preparation and the activities that go along with it (setting the table, heating food that has been prepared, washing dishes) require large expenditures of time. The distribution of these time expenditures not only fits the patterns characteristic of housework as a whole, it is also an important determinant of these patterns.

Above all, there is no equality—nor even a hint of equality!—between women and men in this activity. “Kitchen work” of one sort or another was noted for the three-day period studied by the overwhelming majority of working women (approximately 95 per cent) and by less than half of the working men. Women engage in this work not only more often than men, but spend much more time at it every day, so that the mean duration of food preparation and related activities for working women in major cities is 9 times(!) greater than for working men: 10-11 hours per week as opposed to 1-1.5 hours. (For more detail, see Table 18.)

The high level of urgency of these activities (a variation of approximately 70 per cent—see Table 3) is an indication of the place of the kitchen—in both the literal and figurative sense—in the daily routine of working women. Besides, if one takes into account that the preparation of food and related activities take up more than one-third of all the time spent on housework, it is obvious that it is here that one must look for a solution of the urgent problem of reducing women’s housework and changing the structure of their daily routine.

The unequal distribution of work in the kitchen is also connected with differences in the family position of the working men and women studied: time spent preparing food increases sharply with the formation of a family and reaches a peak among mothers of minor children in nuclear families. The time expenditures are smaller among those working women who are assisted in running the household and raising children by other adult members of the family and are larger among older working women who do not have minor children (approximately 11-12 hours for both categories).

Data on the urgency of this work among working men and women in different stages of the family-age cycle reflect the same tendencies in the distribution of this work (see Table 8). The burdening of working women with kitchen chores is

connected not only with demographic factors (the number of children, their age, the presence in the family of other adults and the state of their health, etc.), but also with the degree to which the household is equipped with modern technology and communal conveniences. It is not happenstance that, in major cities, workers who live in apartments provided with the basic communal conveniences expend 25-35 per cent less time on preparing food, washing dishes and other such related activities than do workers whose apartments are not so equipped.

In this sense, the prospects for reducing housework are quite good: we have already dealt with the large-scale introduction of household appliances into the family routine. We have also remarked that in recent years installation of running water, gas, and other communal services has been proceeding rapidly. About 60 per cent of all investment in housing for 1971-75 is directed to this sector.

At the same time, the data of our study show that reducing work in the kitchen is also furthered by non-material factors: the evolution of the culture of society as a whole and of its separate strata, and changes in social patterns. There is, for example, a definite tendency for working women to reduce time expenditures on preparing food and related activities by approximately 10-15 per cent at each succeeding level of education; the exception is the small group of working women with higher and special secondary education. But there is no evident connection between the level of education of male workers and their participation in such activities: their corresponding time expenditures are too slight to be reduced with a higher level of education. It is another matter when these expenditures are too great, when working women are overburdened with care for feeding the family. In this case, a change in the stereotypes of everyday behavior (among other things, under the influence of a higher level of education) stimulates women to seek more energetically for ways and means to reduce work in the kitchen.

A variety of factors aid the reduction of work connected with feeding the family. All the same, there is at present no real tendency to redistribute labor in the kitchen, though it is possible that improved domestic technology and a con-

tinued multiplication of semi-prepared products will gradually draw men into some types of work in the kitchen that require no special training or skills. The basic hope for liberating working women from excessive work in feeding the family is therefore connected not with a redistribution of this work by drawing men into the kitchen, but with factors that further reduction of time spent on preparing food and on related activities. These factors are: mechanization of the daily routine, i.e., creating conditions for reducing these time expenditures within the domestic economy; development of the public catering system and industrial production of semi-prepared food, i.e., the socialization, and industrialization of all or part of the work connected with feeding the family, the introduction of "semi-collective" forms of preparing food; and, finally, phenomena furthering changes in culture in general and, in particular, a change of habits, traditions and patterns as a condition for implementing the material and technical factors mentioned above.

It is hopeless to look for a solution along only one of these lines; such sparing of efforts would hardly yield the desired results. In particular, the proposal regarding the possibility and necessity of a complete replacement of home cooking by social facilities has, it seems to us, its origin in utopian ideas on liquidating the family as an "outmoded" institution. Preparing meals at home is not only a means for satisfying physiological needs, it is also a particular form of family life; not infrequently, all members of the family foregather only at dinner or supper. So, are the attempts to abolish these family gatherings legitimate? And is it even possible?

Characteristically, in the course of one survey, working women noted just this aspect of eating at home: "at supper, all members of the family gather at the table", "at supper one can report the news of the day, discuss what's going on."¹

Washing. Washing, ironing, mending and cleaning clothes, linen and footwear occupy an important place in the domestic services. The duration of these activities is still

¹ G. A. Slesarev, Z. A. Yankova, "Woman in Industry and in the Family", p. 432 (in Russian).

quite long—true, not for men: in this area of housework, almost all the work is done by women, for whom washing alone takes up an average of about 6 hours per week (see Table 18). Therefore, reduction of time spent on care for clothes, linen and footwear is of great social interest. It is just here that we can find the most immediate resources for saving the non-working time of working women (and of housewives, too), and the potential for equalizing their position in the daily routine.

Some of the results of our study showing the connection between the duration of care for clothing, linen and footwear and differences in the culture of workers surveyed reinforce the conclusions drawn from real life that washing and related activities are the least attractive of all types of housework and more than others are ripe for reduction or elimination from the daily routine of working women. For this reason, one can expect the best results from intensifying housework in this area. The material and technical prerequisites for significantly reducing time spent in this area of housework have already been established; their complete implementation is a matter of the future, though we can see now what the future will bring.

At the present time, hope for reducing the duration of washing at home is the most realistic. The high level of production and sale of washing machines in the Soviet Union allows us to suppose that even within the present decade the washing machine will appear in the majority of urban homes. So far as eliminating washing from the household economy is concerned, this stage of liberating women from one of the most burdensome of family responsibilities will be more prolonged, though in each five-year period the volume of work in public laundromats more than doubles; however, even now this volume is still inadequate.

Housecleaning. This, too, is predominantly woman's work, though the gap between men and women is here not so great as in care for clothing and footwear or in work in the kitchen. In large cities, the time working men spend cleaning the apartment is about one-third of the analogous time spent by working women, in Pavlovo-Posad—about one-fourth (see Table 18). In fact there is no reason why men could not take on themselves a larger part of this work

in order to ease the lot of wives, mothers and sisters. That is, there are no reasons other than prejudice, habit, and tradition, i.e., the specific features of the culture of the given milieu. Therefore, it is natural to expect that indices of changes in culture will reveal a tendency toward a redistribution of time spent in cleaning the house—through an absolute and relative increase in the role of men in these matters.

As in other such cases, to isolate changes (or lack of such) stemming from an increase in the level of education, we will use data on the duration of the activities in question among male and female workers, grouped according to family situation and level of education.

The following figures, in particular, are quite indicative (hours and minutes per week spent on housecleaning):

| | WOMEN | | | | MEN | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| | 4 grades and less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | special educa- tion | 4 grades and less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | special edu- cation |
| Unmarried youth | 4.30 | 3.30 | 2.50 | 1.50 | — | 0.50 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| Parents of minor children | 4.40 | 4.10 | 3.40 | 2.40 | 1.10 | 1.20 | 1.30 | 1.40 |
| Older people | 3.40 | 2.10 | — | — | 1.50 | 0.20 | 1.40 | — |

It is clear from this data that, as the level of education rises, these activities undergo a certain "devaluation" in the eyes of working women: at all stages of the family-age cycle, the corresponding expenditures of time fall as education increases. Among men, no such pattern is observed: only among fathers of minor children (i.e., where the creation of a family and the appearance of children lead to an especially sharp jump in the volume of women's housework) do expenditures of time on housecleaning grow as education increases. Of course, a higher level of education does not make such activities more "pleasant" for men, but it often fosters a more conscious approach to this, not too burdensome, responsibility.

In effect, cleaning the apartment is a less "elastic" and less "compressible" type of housework than others. So one should not count too much on a substantial reduction of total time expenditures here. Even the improvement of housing conditions for workers in the USSR promises no serious changes in the immediate future.¹ At the least, information on the relationship between housework and different living conditions does not make it possible to draw any hopeful conclusions of changes for the better. It would seem that only in the more or less distant future will the mechanization of daily routine make it possible to find resources for a noticeable reduction of housework in this area.

"Man's" work. In their role in securing the normal functioning of the family, such types of housework as repairing furniture, household effects, kitchen utensils and appliances, and living quarters, as well as carpentry, are in practice indistinguishable from care of clothing or cleaning the apartment. But if one compares these activities from the point of view of the social problems of the daily routine and non-working time, one essential difference is apparent: men predominate in repair and building. Among the urban industrial workers that we studied, time spent on these activities by men was five to six times more than the time spent by women—from 3 to 4-5 hours a week as opposed to from half an hour to an hour, correspondingly.

This is also a feature of activities in the personal subsidiary farming plot, of work in gardens and care for domestic cattle and fowl; in this area, the role of men—as judged by the duration of these activities—is also greater. In major cities, working men spend 2-3 hours per week in the personal subsidiary farming plot, women, half an hour a week; in Pavlovo-Posad, the corresponding figures are 5 hours and 2 hours per week (for more detail, see Table 18).

However, it is not just the domination of male labor in the branches of the household economy in question that

¹ The following facts give some idea of this process: from 1960 through 1970, 85 million people moved to new apartments, and another 24.7 million people received or increased their living space in old homes in state housing. (See *The National Economy of the USSR in 1970*, Moscow, 1971, pp. 545, 546, in Russian.)

differentiates these activities from housework in general. For the sociologist, it is even more important that repair, building and gardening play a special role in the daily routine of men (almost half the time spent on domestic work by the working men studied is spent on these activities) and leave their imprint on their whole tenor of life.

Tendencies in the rise (and decline) of these types of housework, their special features (the principal one being the predominance of male labor) are conditioned by an intricate complex of material, social, cultural and physiological reasons.

Insofar as the goal and result of some of these activities (work in the garden, carpentry, construction) is the creation of new material values, it is reasonable to suppose that they are connected closely with the material and economic conditions of the daily routine.

However, analysis of time expenditures on repair, construction and gardening among groups of male workers in different stages of the family-age cycle does not indicate any connection with the level of per capita income in their families (see Table 10). Much more important, from this point of view, are the qualitative results of the types of domestic work in question, the fact that the products can be consumed, not their monetary value. This seems to be a result of the currently inadequate level of social production of some services.

An even stronger influence on the duration of activities of this sort is exerted by the character of the living quarters and the possession of a private plot: workers who live in houses without communal conveniences spend much more time—about twice as much—on such activities than others (see Table 18). These houses—as a rule, wooden, and therefore deteriorating more rapidly—require a constant application of muscle to be kept in order. Moreover, there are usually larger or smaller plots of land near them, and working on these plots is really a continuation of care for the house.

To the extent that there are more workers in small towns than in large cities—and in suburbs than in the city proper—who live in homes without communal conveniences,

one may suppose that it is precisely this circumstance that is one of the most important factors in the greater intensity of "repair and gardening" types of housework in the less urbanized districts.

It is to be understood that the "acclimatization" of the millions of peasants who have moved to Soviet cities in the last few decades could not be a rapid process. Not infrequently, it takes more than one generation to adjust to the principles of urban culture. Therefore, habits, traditions and patterns formed in a semi-subsistence economy—including the concept that domestic labor is an extraordinarily important source for providing for the family, the habit of working with one's hands, etc.—survive for a long time on urban soil. They decay only gradually, under the influence of new forms of life and changes in the economic situation of former peasants. It is not surprising that these activities flourish longer in small towns, with their great territorial and—above all—genetic connection with the countryside.

The principal tendency in the "male" types of housework in the urban working milieu is toward a reduction in their duration. Both the external conditions of life and internal conditions connected with changes in the system of values further this tendency. Not infrequently, however, these changes do not occur "in phase": either the external conditions change more rapidly and thus form a sort of vacuum in the habitual tenor of life of the not fully urbanized city dweller, or readiness to enter into the urban mode of life, with its system of values, is not supported by the external conditions of life. Such unevenness can give rise to social tension, which finds an outlet in drunkenness, breaking labor discipline, disregard for the norms of behavior in socialist society, etc. For this reason, one should not evaluate the tendency toward a reduction of male workers' economic activities solely from its generally progressive aspect.

Moreover, gardening, repair of household appliances and carpentry are not simply rudiments of the village mode of life, disintegrating under the influence of urban culture. In reality, such activities continue in urban daily life in a transmuted form, as amateur activities and as various activities for communing with nature. Of all forms of house-

work, this tendency manifests itself most clearly here and has especial importance from the point of view of turning the daily routine into a sphere for the development of personality. Special studies are required to evaluate this process quantitatively; for the time being, one must keep in mind the growing importance of this tendency in urban life.

3. THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF HOUSEWORK: TWO WAYS TO A SOLUTION

Analysis of the various types of housework has shown: first, that the problem of excess housework in fact boils down at present to the problem of overburdening women; second, that the various conditions of life do not affect equally the different types of housework and, therefore, these activities conceal unequal reserves for freeing time for rest, recreation and self-improvement.

Naturally, the attention of socialist society must be directed first to those branches of the domestic economy that are worked almost exclusively by women and where, in effect, the preconditions for the inequality of women in the daily routine—one of the most important problems of contemporary urban life—are formed. There would seem to be two ways to ease the burdensome lot of women: on the one hand, reduce the necessary volume of housework; and, on the other, create conditions for at least a partial substitution of men's labor for women's.

The first is connected almost exclusively with changing the material and economic conditions of the daily routine: building modern homes provided with all the communal conveniences, producing the means for mechanizing housework, expanding the social production of services. Changes of this sort—as is evident, in particular, from the data of our study—create the objective (technical) prerequisites for transferring a part of household concerns to men.

For these prerequisites to be implemented, cultural changes are also needed—overcoming the outmoded but not yet outlived traditions, mores and habits that prohibit men from engaging in housecleaning, washing, cooking

and so on. Conversely, improving the technology of the household economy eases such shifts in mores.

Both ways to economizing the non-working time of working women, as studies of contemporary urban life show, have good prospects. However, a fundamental solution of this problem requires developing not only a strategy but also the tactics for freeing time consumed by domestic chores. For this, a clear conception of the general constants of housework and of the special features of individual activities (such as the "pliability" to the influence of the external conditions of activity or, on the contrary, the capacity for "resisting" this influence) is required. In particular, it would be desirable to direct attention to the error of the suppositions—more often implied than stated explicitly—that the daily routine is developing solely in the direction of ever greater reduction of time spent running the household, toward a reduction in the volume of housework.

These suppositions are based on the conviction (or hope) that the present expenditures of labor in the household economy are adequate to provide for the activity of the family and that as the material and economic conditions of the daily routine improve, the duration of these time expenditures will be reduced. However, this hope is not buttressed by any special research.

In the course of a special survey conducted in Taganrog, the question was put: "If you had more free time, how would you use it?" It turned out that almost two-thirds of the female and one-fourth of the male workers surveyed felt a lack of time for domestic affairs, with women perceiving this lack more sharply: they mentioned the intention to use this supplementary time for housework much more often than any other desire.

Unusual testimony to the fact that, within the limits of the expenditures of time on housework, shifts from one type of work to another are quite probable, is found in the materials of an international comparative study of time budgets conducted in 1965-66. Time expenditures in the household economy by working women in the USSR and in the developed capitalist countries—the United States, West Germany, France—were almost identical, but the structure of these expenditures varied: while spending less

time in such activities as preparing food and washing, American, German and French women spend much more time cleaning the house.¹

In light of the above, the desire of part of the subjects, including the majority of women, to increase the time spent on housework signifies that the present level does not ensure the satisfaction of all the family's need for services and comfort. It is for this reason that non-working time freed by intensifying housework or by redistributing it among members of the family will neither necessarily nor automatically increase the amount of time devoted to rest, recreation and self-improvement; a large part of it can still be used in housework.

Only taking these circumstances into account can one correctly determine the true dimensions of the tasks facing the service sector. At the same time, the high percentage expressing this sort of intention leads to the conclusion that the development of the system of services is a condition that, though necessary, is hardly sufficient for reducing the burden of housework. Measures for material and organizational improvement have sense and importance only to the extent that they are accompanied by measures directed to raising the cultural level of workers.

¹ *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets*, Novosibirsk, 1969, pp. 101, 104, 107, 108 (in Russian).

CHAPTER FOUR

FAMILY LIFE

1. WHAT IS FAMILY LIFE?

Daily routine and the family, the family and the daily routine—the inseparability of these phenomena is obvious. Daily life outside the family, without a family, is always something temporary, transitory, forced. The individual, if not single, spends a great part of his life with family, spouse, children and other relatives. A survey of the inhabitants of Pskov, carried out in 1965-66 in the course of an international comparative study of time budgets, showed that married working men and women spent an average of 5-6 hours a day in the presence of members of the family, i.e., the greater part of active, non-working time (i.e., time excluding work and sleep); those who did not have their own families spent 2.5-3 hours a day with family members.¹

Different family functions are carried out in the course of family life and through the social intercourse of family members with each other. The family is, first, the basic area of non-productive consumption of material goods and is one of the most important units of consumption of spiritual values; second, many services providing for the normal vital activity of the individual are for the time being produced within the family; third, the family is a special sort of club in which family members pass their leisure time; and, fourth and finally, it is the family that is the principal sphere in which the younger generation, in particular children of pre-school age, is raised.

¹ Ibid., pp. 138-40.

From this broadly construed intercourse of family members with each other, it is no easy matter (in particular where the principal instrument for studying the daily routine is the time budget), at times even impossible, to isolate "pure forms" of social intercourse—social intercourse as an end in itself or, at least, prevalent activity as distinct from that taking place during dinner or when watching television.

It is easiest to isolate for special analysis activities with children, and study of the features of this everyday activity can provide some idea of the place of the family in urban life, an idea of the degree to which different groups of workers are oriented to intrafamilial intercourse.

2. ACTIVITIES WITH CHILDREN

Of course, it is principally mothers and fathers of minor children who more or less systematically rear children.¹ So it is their time expenditures under this heading that are in the center of our attention. At the same time, analogous activities by groups of workers over forty years of age and without minor children of their own also require careful analysis, insofar as the grandparents' activity with grandchildren not infrequently is of a regular character, too.

It is noteworthy that for workers who are parents of minor children, the amount of time spent with children is little dependent on the type and structure of their families (nuclear, extended, broken). This is apparently a result of the great urgency of such activities and the desire of most

¹ In the literature on problems of non-working time, raising children is usually divided into two groups of activities: rearing children proper (walks, games, reading aloud, checking lessons, visiting school, etc.) and care for children (feeding, bathing, picking up and taking children to kindergarten, school, etc.). There is a certain basis for this division; all the same, such a classification is more than relative, since each of the activities mentioned can be included in either group. In fact, studies by pediatricians have shown that even bathing a three- or four-month-old child is an act of rearing. In the same way, for parents this is not only labor, or an obligation, but a satisfaction, a pleasure—creativity, if you please. Thus, in most cases we have considered it possible and appropriate to speak of direct contact with children as a whole, using the terms "raising children", "activities with children", "communication with children" as equivalents.

parents to give children as much attention as possible. The comparative international study of 1965-66 showed that, in the Soviet Union, parents spent 1.5-2 times as much time with their children as parents in bourgeois countries.¹

It is symptomatic that fathers spend only slightly less time with their minor children than do mothers. And the duration of those activities that relate to rearing children in the narrow sense is even greater among fathers than among working women: in nuclear families, men spend 4-5 hours a week, women only 3-4 hours a week; in families with relatives helping out, the corresponding figures are more than 5 hours and more than 4 hours. But men spend much less time in bathing, feeding and other types of "care for children" where elements of housework, with all its special features, including men's desire to transfer this burden to women, predominate.

At the same time, in the working milieu, juveniles are given less attention than their younger siblings. It would seem that there is no special cause for concern here, since reduction of activities with children is connected chiefly with reduction of time spent in care for them, while other indices remain more or less stable.

We should not, however, forget that care for children is a form of rearing them. Therefore, when children no longer need elementary forms of care, expenditures of time on such forms of family life threaten to remain unredeemed.

In the past, such a situation did not cause special difficulties. The juvenile then entered working life early and, as a rule, began work alongside his parents; the moral influence of elders was not interrupted, it simply took new forms.

In our time, relations between parents and children have a different form. Youths begin working much later than before, and not always alongside their parents. The more rapid physical maturation of juveniles and differences in the level of education—often higher among children than among parents—introduce additional difficulties. As a result, there is at times a lack of mutual understanding between parents

¹ *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets*, pp. 113-14 (in Russian).

and their older children, the inability of the former to establish proper relations with them.

In light of all this, the importance of acquainting all parents with the fundamentals of pedagogic knowledge and improving their skills in rearing children is obvious. In future, perhaps, we should organize a system of special training for parents, perhaps a network of pedagogical consultation bureaus under the schools. They will reward the efforts put into them.

One would expect that many or some of the problems of rearing children will be solved or will approach solution as the general cultural level of parents is raised. The materials of our study confirm these expectations—but only where there are major changes in culture, when culture moves not “from step to step” but “from floor to floor”. For example, changes in the amount of time parents spend with children are connected with an increase in the parents’ level of education; consequently, the duration of special activities with children seems to us an important index of the level of the culture of activities with children.

At the same time, comparing the data from major towns with the corresponding data for workers in Pavlovo-Posad indicates that there is an increasing tendency to spend more time with children as one moves from the environment of a small town to the conditions of a large city—less definitely for women, quite clearly for men.

The increased role of men in rearing and caring for children should obviously be viewed as one of the most important manifestations of the evolution of the urban culture of a mature socialist society. The stability of this process is confirmed by comparison of the data on time spent with children in the everyday activity of blue-collar workers on the one hand and white-collar workers on the other.

The role of grandmothers and grandfathers. Analysis of data on the connection between the duration of activities with children and the family situation of the workers surveyed brings to light substantial differences in time spent on care for children by fathers in nuclear and in extended families: in the first instance, they spend about 2 hours and 15 minutes per week caring for minor children, in the second—only 45 minutes, i.e., one-third as much. And if

we recall that older workers who do not have minor children of their own spend no little amount of time with children, there is every reason to suppose that the aid of relatives (chiefly grandmothers and grandfathers) is a quite important aspect of rearing the younger generation.

One must take into account, however, that this assistance secures a "situation of the greatest happiness" only for fathers of minor children; it has practically no influence on the total activity of women (mothers of minor children in nuclear families spend about 5 hours⁷ per week providing for their children and doing similar things, in extended families they spend only a quarter of an hour less). The urgency of these time expenditures is so high that males are forced to take on themselves types of care for children that must be carried out, but would under other circumstances fall to the lot of relatives.

To determine the full extent of assistance from "other" relatives, it is necessary to compare the mean figures on time spent raising children by older male and female workers with information on the duration of activities with children among those workers who had corresponding time expenditures in the course of the three days surveyed. It turns out that working(!) grandmothers and grandfathers engage in rearing and caring for grandchildren to almost the same extent as fathers and mothers, and sometimes even more.

Such great attention by grandmothers and grandfathers to rearing grandchildren is sometimes seen as the natural order of things, but it is not that simple. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon: on the one hand, the fact that the overwhelming majority of parents of small children belong to those age groups which are employed and, on the other, the increased weight in the population of elderly and old people, little or not at all connected with the economy and therefore having at their disposal large reserves of non-working time. In 1970, there were in the Soviet Union 36.6 million people of retirement age (in the USSR women receive a pension at age 55, men at age 60), and in the near future, so demographers predict, there will be 44 million of them. To the extent that working parents cannot give their children adequate attention, the redistribution of activities with children that was noted above, the shifting

of the burden to grandparents, including those who work, acquires great social import.

Of course, one must see the complexity, even the contradictions, in the problem: apart from the fact that such a shift engenders conflicts between parents and grandparents, one must keep in mind that the growing role of the older generations in activities with children means at the same time a certain reduction of the level of family upbringing of children, insofar as the tendency for the older generation to be relatively backward, both in cultural level and in degree of familiarity with the constantly changing elements of culture, will persist for a long time to come and may even become permanent.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXTRAFAMILIAL SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

1. MODES AND NATURE OF EXTRAFAMILIAL SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

Man's social intercourse with others does not, of course, end within the family. It is a natural state of human affairs, as is the desire of the overwhelming majority to satisfy this need. The modes and nature of social intercourse, and its duration, are one of the essential facets of the mode of life.

For those who, like the workers we studied, are employed in social production, the place of work group is an important arena for extrafamilial social intercourse. The working person to a significant extent satisfies his need in the process of labor itself, during lunch breaks, at production meetings, in commuting, etc. However, despite the enormous importance of contacts at work, it is an error to think that production fully satisfies man's need for everyday social intercourse. It is simply impossible to meet all the goals of such intercourse here—exchange of information, sharing other people's family or personal problems, diversion from production or professional problems, and many, many others.

Personal experience and special studies show that the need for social contact outside the family and work is very urgent and widespread. The materials at our disposal allow us to describe the following forms.

Entertaining guests and visiting relatives and friends. As a rule, this form of social intercourse presupposes a relatively limited and more or less stable circle of participants, and relatively stable and prolonged contacts among them.

Walks without children, visiting parks, dance floors, "recreational evenings" in clubs and houses of culture, meet-

ing friends outside the house—in restaurants, cafes, snack-bars, etc.

Non-athletic games—dominoes, lotto, cards.

Naturally, there are other forms of social intercourse in the daily routine. We have highlighted these because they are marked by social intercourse as such; we will not analyze in this section those forms of everyday behavior in which social intercourse is simply a concomitant element—such as, for example, trips out of town, going to movies, and so on.¹

The importance of extrafamilial social intercourse for youth. Various forms of social intercourse are allotted a great deal of time by the workers studied: men devote an average of 7 hours a week to them, women from 3 to 4 hours. But much diversity is concealed behind these mean figures, a diversity caused by differences in the living conditions of urban workers: unmarried youths devote 7 to 12 hours a week to walks, dances, meeting friends and acquaintances, and visiting—2 to 3 times more than married people, especially parents of minor children. At the same time, the goals of social intercourse, not just duration, are different for the older generation and for unmarried youth.

For married and older people, social intercourse with friends, acquaintances and relatives during walks, visits, going to restaurants, parks, etc., is important mainly as a form of rest and recreation, as a means of exchanging opinions and information; very similar to other forms of rest and recreation, these activities can be replaced relatively painlessly by others that have approximately the same functions, and so they yield easily to the “pressure” of external, especially familial, circumstances.

It is another thing with youth: for them, social intercourse with one's peers is unique and cannot be replaced by any other activities, since many aspects of socialization—including the creation of families—are completed through such social intercourse.

¹ As we have already mentioned, there are no “pure” forms of time allocation; to one extent or another, they all combine different types of behavior and satisfy different needs, though they can usually be correlated with a given category of vital activity.

Also, one should not forget that it is at this stage of life that one wants to secure for oneself a more or less stable position in one's social milieu, a more or less definite circle of friends and acquaintances.

And there isn't time enough for all this. Asked what they would do if they had more time to spare 50-55 per cent of young male and female workers said they would use this hypothetical addition to meet with friends. This response came third out of thirteen answers, yielding only to the desire to read more and for more entertainment outside the home (i.e., going to movies, theaters, sports events, parks, etc.—this is in essence a different aspect of the same thing).

At the same time, for young female and, especially, male workers, the time allotted to meetings with friends, acquaintances and relatives at home and visiting with them is almost indistinguishable from the average. But in addition, they spend considerably more time than the average walking, dancing, meeting friends in cafes and so on—activities that are more dynamic, more “enterprising” and secure a wide range of social intercourse, a variety of impressions, and the potential for selecting a future spouse and future friends.

Thus, the differences between youths and married people in time spent on social intercourse are natural, meet the interests of society and the individual, and are not in themselves the source of social tension. However, under certain circumstances, the extrafamilial orientation of youth can nourish excesses that are socially undesirable.

What is “male companionship”? In character and in consequences, the gap between men and women in the duration of activities connected with extrafamilial social intercourse is different in principle.

We are far from naive supposing that there should be no social contact among men without the participation of women, and vice versa. However, social intercourse in the form of “male companionship” is at present excessively widespread—as is evident from the materials of our study and from other sources. It is so common that it would be strange indeed if we did not see in it one of the important causes of that social tension that public opinion justly connects with drunkenness and other socially dangerous phenomena.

Weakening the restraining influence of women substantially damages the mechanism for ensuring social stability that is inherent in modern culture. The time allocated by men to "walks without children" is often given over to the most serious forms of drunkenness. Here the difference with corresponding time expenditures ("walks without children") by women is especially great. The relative magnitude of the gap can serve as an indirect indicator of the relative level of drunkenness.

The immediate source of this imbalance in extrafamilial social intercourse is, above all, the overburdening of working women with housework: the 17-20 hours a week that men "save" on housework are not always used for cultural activities, self-improvement, or civic activity. This is a case in which a generally positive phenomenon—more free time—manifestly shows its negative sides, since the chief attribute of free time (free choice) is far from always employed in the best manner.

Cultural levels and tendencies in extrafamilial social intercourse. The nature and intensity of social intercourse depends in no small degree on cultural and educational factors. However, attempts to assess the influence of different levels of culture on this sphere will be disappointing if they aim to isolate direct linear connections. For example, among the workers studied there was no clear connection between the total duration of extrafamilial social intercourse and the level of education.

Nevertheless, this circumstance should not be interpreted as evidence of the independence of extrafamilial social intercourse from the specific features of a given subculture. In order to throw light on deeper, more fundamental consequences of changes in the nature of culture, it is advisable to analyze tendencies in everyday behavior on the basis of advances in culture more substantial than an increase in the level of education by 2 or 3 grades.

And in fact, as soon as we compare the extrafamilial social intercourse of workers in a small town, workers in major cities, and technical and engineering personnel with a higher education (these three groups can in a certain sense be viewed as consecutive stages in the development of culture in the urban milieu), we note a connection between

different forms of social intercourse and the level of culture.

Workers in Pavlovo-Posad in their level of education, mores, and urbanized conditions of life are at the lowest of these three groups in level of culture. Correspondingly, the composite level of various forms of extrafamilial social intercourse among male workers in this town was highest of the three groups compared—chiefly as a result of walks without children (and we should add: and without wives, since the frequency of walks among women was here 3.5 times less than among men).

In major cities, among male workers the volume and frequency of extrafamilial social intercourse is only slightly less than in Pavlovo-Posad. However, it is symptomatic that first place here is held by entertaining or visiting friends, acquaintances and relatives. This shift is definitely connected with an equalization of the position of women: in fact, time spent on walks without children, visiting, etc., among working women of major cities is almost three times as great as among their peers in Pavlovo-Posad. They spend a great deal of this time visiting relatives and acquaintances and entertaining guests—almost as much as male workers—so that one can assume that in the working milieu of major cities visiting is the usual form of getting together with friends. The influence of women in this form of social intercourse is much stronger than in such activities as “walks without children”.

Of course, this tendency toward an equalization in the extrafamilial social intercourse of men and women is scarcely uniform in the daily routine of workers in major cities. It is relatively clear among workers with more education, while the social intercourse of the least educated corresponds fully to analogous activities in the working milieu of a small town.

Finally, a further large reduction of the frequency and duration of such activities as “walks without children” in free time is characteristic for the male part of the factory intelligentsia. Extrafamilial social intercourse remains even here an important element in everyday behavior, though a noteworthy feature at this level is the elimination of the gap between men and women, in part at the expense of the notorious “men’s strolls”.

At the same time, it is useful to examine in more detail the different forms of extrafamilial social intercourse, since they do not meet identical demands in social intercourse and reflect different levels of the everyday culture.

2. THE BASIC FORMS OF EXTRAFAMILIAL SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

Walks and non-athletic games. We have already seen that these forms of extrafamilial social intercourse are "exploited" by men much more thoroughly than by women, and by young workers more than by married and older workers. In large cities, they are two to four times more frequent among unmarried working youth than among fathers and mothers of minor children. There is another major gap in the duration of walks without children, visiting parks, dance floors, restaurants and so on. Girls devote about 8-10 times more time to these activities than women who have families and children—about 3 hours a week as opposed to 20-25 minutes—and young male workers 7-8 times more time than fathers of minor children.

As is apparent, youth experiences an especially great pull to the company of friends, a pull noted by many sociologists and teachers. In this final period of the socialization, when young people are on the threshold of independent, "adult" life, they have an especially great need for informal information on the real norms of social life, on love, family life and many other questions. And they obtain this information in a "packaging" that is specific to their milieu and, therefore, apprehended more easily and with greater confidence. Here both adult friendship and the future family sink their roots. But here, too, are formed ideas alien to the interests of society, and these socially dangerous ideas often ripen and turn into socially dangerous activities. It is, therefore, important for socialist society to look for ways and means to influence these mobile, but very influential, youth formations.

There is a sharp reduction in the amount of time that the workers surveyed in major cities spend on walking, dances, visiting restaurants and cafes in the period when a family is

being started, and a sharp drop in the frequency of these activities when children appear in the family. Young childless couples are an intermediate group: among them, especially among men, the frequency of walks and suchlike activity is almost the same as for young unmarried workers, while total expenditures of time are much smaller. Obviously, they must limit their walks in time, in order to satisfy both the habits maintained from the past and the new demands for developing social intercourse within the newly formed family. The need to spend time rearing and caring for children further limits the opportunity, and the desire, to take one's leisure outside the home and family.

Our data do not diverge from the widely held views on what activities are most popular among the male portion of the urban populace. In fact, in the hours of two working days and two days off studied in Taganrog, almost 40 per cent of the males passing their time in courtyards and quiet streets in purely male company played dominoes and similar games. However, one must keep in mind that men of differing family-age groups do not participate equally in this activity.

Working youths play dominoes and other non-athletic games "once in a while". Young unmarried workers in major cities spend about one-twentieth of the time for extrafamilial social intercourse on such activities—in a small town, about one-fortieth of such time.

Non-athletic games occupy a different place in the leisure of married men. Young husbands try to compensate, at least partially, for the renunciation of a major part of different forms of social intercourse outside the home—such as walks without children, etc.—with social intercourse near home or even at home, in their own or a neighbor's apartment. Thus, at this stage of the life cycle, the element of contact with home and family in extrafamilial social intercourse increases, though non-athletic games in their purposes, in the more or less chance make-up of the players, and in other features are quite similar to forms of social contact outside the home. Non-athletic games have the same compensatory function for working fathers of minor children.

Visiting and entertaining. Other forms of extrafamilial social intercourse, connected more with home and including

elements of familial intercourse—we refer primarily to meetings with friends, acquaintances and relatives at home and through visits—change less with the transition from one family-age status to another, although it would be mistaken to suppose that they are unconnected with the individual's family situation.

Young unmarried workers spend much time visiting and entertaining guests. For them, this is a form of contact with people in its own right. For young childless couples, the absolute figures of the duration and frequency of these activities are not too different from the corresponding figures for unmarried youth, yet visiting and entertaining friends and relatives has for them a character that is different in principle. Even for men, despite their clearly expressed urge for preserving the forms of their youthful social intercourse, the duration of visiting and entertaining guests is twice as great as the duration of walks, visits to restaurants and cafes, participation in "evenings of entertainment", and constitutes much more than half of the total time they spend on extrafamilial social intercourse. This tendency is even more clearly expressed in data on young, married, but childless working women. Almost four-fifths of their social intercourse comes through "domestic" forms of intercourse.

The role of domestic forms of social intercourse in the daily lives of married workers who are parents of minor children is just as great as it is for childless couples. Men in extended families spend almost half of the time of their extrafamilial social intercourse entertaining and visiting, women—no less than four-fifths.

Thus, localization of extrafamilial social intercourse, its confinement to a more or less definite circles of relatives and acquaintances, are the characteristic changes in the mode of life of urban workers as they move along the stages of the life cycle from unmarried youth to family life.

All the same, if changes in the character and forms of extrafamilial social intercourse stemmed only from differences in age and family situation, the structure of social intercourse would undergo no essential changes from generation to generation, and forms of social intercourse peculiar to the past would be recreated in each succeeding generation.

However, extrafamilial social intercourse is also altered under the influence of long-range factors—above all, those like the development of the modern forms of urban culture.

A sharp, one might even say bounding, change in the role of visiting and entertaining is connected with major "steps forward" in culture—with the transition from the subculture of the working milieu of small towns to the subculture of the working milieu in major cities. Male workers in major towns spend an average of 1.5 times more time than do workers in Pavlovo-Posad (approximately 3-4 hours per week as opposed to 2-3 hours). Moreover, these expenditures of time constitute more than half of all time spent in extrafamilial social intercourse, as opposed to one-third for Pavlovo-Posad workers. Among working women, with an equally high relative weight for this form of social intercourse (about three-fourths of the total extrafamilial intercourse), absolute expenditures of time in major cities are three times higher than in Pavlovo-Posad (3 hours and 1 hour a week respectively).

In each of these groups of workers living in towns at a different level of urbanization, all the familiar connections between extrafamilial social intercourse and sex, age and family situation make themselves felt. And these connections are strongest where modern urban culture has less influence on the character and structure of daily life, in our case—in Pavlovo-Posad. Here we see the greatest gap between men and women and between unmarried youth and parents of minor children. The general level of culture and demographic features among the workers studied work in the same direction, causing a wider range of disparities.

A study in Taganrog answered another important question: whom does one most often visit, and whom does one most often entertain? An interview specially devoted to this theme showed that the make-up of these people, as well as the time spent visiting and entertaining, is specifically connected with the demographic and cultural features of the workers surveyed.

The most frequent guests (and the people most frequently visited) of those questioned were relatives: 55 per cent of those surveyed mentioned relatives in answer to this question. Mentioned least were neighbors—10 per cent. Friends

from work and other friends and acquaintances occupy an intermediate position—they were mentioned respectively by 23 per cent and 47 per cent of those questioned. But data broken down by sex introduce substantial changes in the picture. For men, first place is held by friends and acquaintances (57 per cent), the percentage for friends from work is higher than the mean (30 per cent) and for relatives and neighbors lower than the mean (45 per cent and 7 per cent). For women, the tendency is reversed: they visit with relatives and neighbors more than do men (68 per cent and 13 per cent), less with friends from work (15 per cent) and with other friends and acquaintances (36 per cent).¹

Young workers—both men and women—spend even less time with relatives and more time with friends from work and other acquaintances. The differences between workers and representatives of the intelligentsia also testify that the same tendency is at work here. This is especially clear from data on the people with whom white-collar workers with a higher or special secondary education and workers at an identical, central stage in the family-age cycle visit (per cent of those interviewed):

| People who visit you at home | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| | Relatives | Neighbors | Friends from work | Other friends and acquaintances |
| Female workers | 67 | 10 | 12 | 25 |
| Female specialists and white-collar workers | 61 | 19 | 26 | 37 |
| Male workers | 52 | 15 | 18 | 46 |
| Male specialists and white-collar workers | 50 | 13 | 26 | 73 |

¹ The sum of the answers does not equal 100 per cent in every case, because those interviewed could give several answers.

Although these groups of the urban populace visit relatives with about the same frequency, workers are visited at home noticeably by fewer friends from work and other acquaintances.

Those interviewed in Taganrog were asked an open question: "What do you usually do when visiting or entertaining?" Classification of the answers gives a relatively clear picture of the basic types of activity in these circumstances (in per cent of those interviewed):

| | Sing- ing | Listen- ing to music | Danc- ing | Dominoes, cards, lotto | Chess, check- ers | Watch- ing te- levi- sion | Sit- ting at the table |
|------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Working women | 7 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 33 | 12 |
| Working men | 5 | 18 | 3 | 20 | 5 | 9 | 19 |

As is evident, watching television is the most common activity of Taganrog workers when visiting (chiefly on account of the female half of those surveyed); dominoes, lotto, cards (especially among men, though in part also among women) are quite frequent; many note as a usual activity listening to music on the radio or on a tape recorder; singing and dancing are mentioned much less frequently (preponderantly among women) as are chess and checkers (exclusively male activity). Unfortunately, one must also include drinking among the usual activities—but this will be treated below.¹

¹ Those questioned were also asked: "What would you prefer to do when visiting?" (a closed question with a choice of answers). There was more activity in answering this second question: first, preferences were being discussed, and, second, the proposed answers served as a sort of "crib sheet" and stimulated activity among the respondents as they answered the question. It is the more interesting that the general tendency or, more precisely, the proportions of answers to this question corresponded fully with the answers to the question on what was usually done when visiting.

Analysis of this data by age groups shows a wide range of age-linked differences in the structure of activities when visiting. For example, listening to music, so frequent among male workers (18 per cent) is almost exclusively an activity of young (under 30) workers. Such activities as singing and, especially, dancing are likewise typical chiefly of young groups of workers. Among older workers, the place of dancing, singing and listening to music is taken by dominoes and other such games and, among men, with age the popularity of watching television rises sharply (for women, watching television is also popular among the young).

On the other hand, the structure of activities when visiting is not very dependent on the level of the workers' education. This does not mean, however, that it is independent of culture as a whole. Moreover, important changes in activities when visiting are connected with the general level of culture. This follows, in particular, from a comparison of the answers of workers and professionals to the question of what they usually do when visiting. This comparison shows, for example, that singing, dancing and listening to music is a more frequent form of social intercourse among married professionals when visiting than among married workers, while dominoes, lotto and similar games are much less frequent, the role of chess and checkers rising (even among women, who are usually not adherents of these activities).

Problems in the culture of social intercourse. In the modern city, one further activity, already mentioned, has special importance when visiting or entertaining—sitting around the table, attended by a greater or lesser amount of liquor. The widespread view that an obligatory attribute of such social intercourse is drinking is—as is evident from the materials of our study—in complete harmony with the practice of visiting and entertaining. A significant part of the workers surveyed mentioned drinking among the usual activities when visiting.

That such forms of social intercourse not infrequently take on an ugly character is well known. The habit of drinking when visiting and when at home, among relatives and friends, has as a direct sequel public drunkenness and aids the spread of anti-social acts—in sociological terminology, deviant behavior. It is just from this harmless sitting around

the table that the danger of an incorrect use of free time arises, a use of free time, not for the development of personality, but for "spicing up" life, for committing acts incompatible with the interests and norms of socialist society.

It has turned out that those less partial to alcoholic drinks—or at least more restrained in their answers (and this is also significant)—are young and more educated workers. The more moderate answers among professionals also testify to the fact that changes in the nature of social intercourse, changes for the better, are connected with the general progress of the workers' culture.

3. A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF A CLOSE FRIEND

The nature of friendship. The answers of workers and professionals in Taganrog to questions about their closest friends illuminate important aspects of daily life. 72 per cent of the male workers and 69 per cent of the working women questioned meet with their friends daily or almost daily (4 to 6 times a week). And though a large number of workers' friends work for the same firm (59 per cent for men, 51 per cent for women), they meet with their friends primarily outside of work—at home, at a friend's, etc. (70 per cent of working men and 75 per cent of working women gave this response), and, less frequently, at work (56 and 45 per cent respectively). That social intercourse even with co-workers takes place to a significant degree outside work shows that it is part of the daily routine rather than of labor.

It is natural that among the friends both of workers and of professionals, representatives of one's own social and professional group should predominate. The more symptomatic then is the tendency to "expand" one's circle of friends: approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of the workers listed professionals among their friends.

The age range of the circle of friends is narrow: more than 80 per cent of the workers surveyed in Taganrog have friends whose ages fit approximately within one generation (-4 ± 5 years). Asked about the sex of their friends, the wor-

kers interviewed (just as the representatives of other strata of Taganrog's populace) were unanimous: men have only men friends, women only women friends.

Data on the character of contacts with friends is also of great interest: the duration and stability of friendships, and what, in fact, unites these people.

Friendship is tested by time. But of course, the conception of the length of a friendship is not identical for people of different ages. It is natural that long (more than 10 years) friendship exists, primarily, among older workers, while many among those who have not yet reached 30 became acquainted with their present friends no more than three years back.

More than half of the workers surveyed became acquainted with their future friends at work. Almost half of Taganrog workers' friends are not neighbors, but live in other areas of town, which testifies, among other things, to the fact that friends are selected for mutual interests, not for ease of meeting them.

The meaning of friendly social intercourse. The answers of the workers surveyed to the questions—"What do you usually talk about with your friend?" and "What do you value in your friends?"—provide important material for characterizing the social intercourse of friends. The answers to the first of these open questions—subjects of discussion—were broken down into five groups: 1) family affairs, 2) friends and acquaintances, 3) work, 4) political problems, 5) movies, television programs, books and similar subjects connected with culture. (Other answers were listed under a separate heading.) Answers on the most valuable qualities of friends were grouped into: 1) sincerity, honesty, responsiveness, being easy-going, modesty, and similar qualities of the "soul", 2) sociability, good humor and other properties of character that conform fully to the first group and were separated from it solely for the purposes of the given study, 3) qualities, likewise grouped separately, testifying to firmness and integrity (adherence to principles, loyalty, will), 4) properties of the mind and of acquired life experience (education, culture, resourcefulness, and so forth).

Both series of answers allow us to discover, at least as a first approximation, the reference points for friendly con-

tacts between urban workers, to understand what they seek in their friends.

As do other materials of this study, data on the usual themes of conversation between friends testifies to the close, organic connection of extrafamilial social intercourse with relations in the realm of labor, on the one hand, and with family life, on the other: the most frequent topics of conversation in the working milieu are family affairs (for women, this is the most frequent) and questions connected with work (especially among men). However, half of the men questioned named as topics of conversation with friends news from cultural life (23 per cent) and political events (23 per cent). Women, especially the young and the better educated, also talk about such topics with their friends (though only women of the most highly educated groups discuss politics). However, the basic interest of the overwhelming majority of women is work and, especially, family problems (two-thirds of all answers). And though this is quite natural, too frequent attention to such topics is evidence of an inadequate level in the culture of social intercourse.

Talking about friends and acquaintances is a topic mainly for young male and female workers; apparently, this stems from the fact that the period of socialization is being completed, and it is necessary to work out criteria for selecting friends and acquaintances, to become aware of and form one's own social and cultural milieu.

With increased education, the character of friendship changes noticeably, topics of conversation become much more diverse. This shift is especially noticeable in the responses of the female half of the professionals surveyed (they list the topics of family and work one and a half times less frequently than less educated women).

And what sort of friends do people want to have? Or, more precisely, what sort of friends do they seek for themselves? One can draw meaningful, though far from complete, conclusions by analyzing answers to the question of what one values in one's friend.

The overwhelming majority give primacy of place to those properties of their friends' character that we called qualities of the "soul": workers, white-collar workers, retired persons, both women and men, describe their friends as sincere,

honest, responsive, modest and easy-going. It is noteworthy that such characteristics as good humor and sociability, which in general help people become acquainted, are not quoted high among the most valuable qualities of friends.

One also relatively infrequently meets with answers from which one might gather that their authors value in their friends a sharp mind, good cultural background, resourcefulness and similar properties.

It is apparent that further study of this aspect of extra-familial social intercourse will reveal other, clearer connections between the characteristic framework of friendship and different conditions of life.

CHAPTER SIX

LEISURE AND PERSONAL IMPROVEMENT

Activities connected with culture are in our days one of the categories of time allocation absorbing the most time in the daily routine: among working women surveyed in major cities, it takes up to an average of about 12 hours a week, for working men—about 20 hours; in Pavlovo-Posad, 6 and 15 hours respectively. The cultural revolution carried out in the Soviet Union has brought us to a point where consumption and creation of cultural values has become a necessary and imperative element in workers' lives.

Proceeding to a description of this side of the daily life of urban workers, we will look first at those activities that involve the consumption of culture primarily for the purpose of rest, recreation, satisfying aesthetic demands and obtaining information; all workers now engage in such activities.

1. CULTURE AND REST

This constitutes a whole group of activities that clearly predominates in the total time spent participating in culture: urban workers spend two-thirds to three-fourths of their culture-linked time on them. At the same time, these activities are quite varied, and this variety is important for meeting the full range of demands—from simple rest and distraction from labor and family concerns to acquaintance with the most important achievements of world culture,

Historically, of course, reading has the deepest roots of all activities of this sort. The Soviet people read more than any other people in the world. Adults in the USSR spend from half an hour to an hour per day reading, which is one and a half to two times greater than in the United States, West Germany, or France. Books of all kinds are in the USSR printed in ever larger editions. In the years since the October Revolution, more than 2.4 million books have been published—a total printing of 3.8 billion copies. 7,863 newspapers and 5,966 magazines and other periodicals are published in the Soviet Union. In the next five-year period, the number of newspapers and magazines will increase by more than 20 per cent.

In the Soviet Union, reading has been a type of everyday activity among urban workers for only a few decades—a period not yet so long for this activity, one of the most intellectual, to have won a solid position in the daily life of workers. Its inclusion in the daily routine is as yet far from completed, and the ways for its inclusion are not so simple as to follow merely from an increase in the level of workers' education and improved publishing.

Unlike books, movies and television have acquired a mass audience almost immediately, energetically invading the daily life of broad strata of the populace, first, of cities, then of rural areas. Television—the latest of the great inventions in the area of mass communications—has entered the everyday routine with especial force: more than 70 per cent of the populace can now watch TV programs. People spend a great, and not infrequently the greater, part of the time connected with the consumption of culture in front of the television. So it is natural to begin our treatment of the participation of urban workers in culture for the purpose of rest, recreation and obtaining information and aesthetic pleasure with this activity. Moreover, the greater duration of watching television cannot but tell on the contact with other sources of culture.

The role of television. The workers we studied do not lag behind in this world-wide process of the penetration of television into the daily routine: in the course of the three days surveyed, approximately 75 per cent of male workers (in Pavlovo-Posad, 67 per cent) and 64 per cent of working

women (in Pavlovo-Posad, 59 per cent) spent at least some time watching television. And since television is a domestic means of consuming culture, these results are possible only when a very large percentage of working families have television sets. In fact, approximately two-thirds of the workers studied had television sets.

In major cities, the male workers surveyed watch television at an average of 8 to 9 hours a week, women—3 to 4 hours a week. This means that television has become practically the main source of information and contact with culture in non-working time: in the urban working milieu, time spent watching television exceeds time spent reading and attending public performances taken together and constitutes about one-third of all the time spent in consumption of spiritual culture outside the realm of labor.

The intensity of using television, least among unmarried youths, grows from one stage of the life cycle to the next. It is worth noting that the less the total volume of leisure time the greater the time allotted to television by workers of different family-age groups, with few exceptions.

This phenomenon, paradoxical at first glance, can be understood if one keeps in mind that the intensity of watching television depends most of all on the magnitude of free time and on the opportunity or lack thereof to utilize free time outside the home. With the creation of a family and the appearance of children, the volume of free time is reduced, and simultaneously—often even more rapidly—the opportunity to pass one's leisure time outside the home is reduced.

Naturally, differences in time spent watching television are caused not only by "constraints" on leisure among married people, but also by the specific requirements of youth. Extrafamilial social intercourse and attending public performances distracts young workers from television, just as evening and correspondence study directly interferes with this form of leisure.

On the whole, one can state that the connection between workers' positions in the family-age cycle and the intensity of television viewing is a result not so much of age or family status as of the daily routine associated with these demographic traits: a mode of life is very active or very "constrained". Therefore, the percentage of married and older

workers in the television audience (according to the number of hours passed in front of the television) is much greater than their proportion in the total of urban workers.

The degree of the individual's attraction to television depends, naturally, on his cultural level, too. True, information on the amount of time spent watching television by workers with different levels of education reveals a complex and varied picture (see Table 14). However, as soon as we compare cultural (and not just educational) data, the great influence of cultural factors becomes completely clear.

One cannot help but notice the substantial difference between workers in major cities and workers in Pavlovo-Posad in time spent watching television; the latter spend half as much time in front of the television (the greatest gap is among men, less among women). Yet almost the same percentage of Pavlovo-Posad workers have television sets as workers in major cities—about two-thirds. In major cities, television has won a stronger position than in a comparatively small town, where women are oriented more to housework and men to extrafamilial social intercourse on the streets.

It is interesting to compare time spent watching television on working days and on weekends. Television is used much more intensively on weekends than on working days: workers who have television sets spend almost half their weekly television time on Saturdays and Sundays; workers who do not own television sets spend two-thirds of such time on weekends. On working days, 35-50 per cent of working women surveyed and 50-65 per cent of male workers reported this activity, while on days off 80-90 per cent of the workers surveyed spent time watching television.¹

The specific association of television with leisure time on days off is especially noticeable when this activity is compared with another form of the consumption of the values of spiritual culture, that is, again, primarily a domestic activity—reading books and journals. On the average, time

¹ This data refers to workers whose families have television sets.

spent reading on any given day off is greater than on a working day. However, as distinct from what we found in analyzing time spent watching television, in the weekly time budget of the workers studied—both those who have television sets and those who don't—most reading occurs, all the same, on working days. Second—and this is particularly important—reading on days off is allotted only 1.5-2 times as much time as on working days, while time spent watching television grows by about three times among workers who have their own televisions and 4-5 times among those who do not.

The closer connection of television viewing with leisure on days off is explicable first by the fact that most television programs are of interest only when they can be watched in their entirety, without interruption and especially without gaps (as distinct, for example, from reading, which can be broken into almost any segment, can be put off to another day, and where it is possible to reread what may have been forgotten). And working families have more or less extended free periods of time precisely on weekends. This explains, too, the especially sharp jump of television viewing by working women on weekends.

A practical conclusion from this would be to produce shorter television programs for working days; otherwise, it is difficult to bring more working people into the television audience.

Differences in time spent in front of the television accounted for by the family-age situation of workers studied, the degree of workers' familiarity with modern urban culture and, finally, the presence or absence of a television set in their apartment, in no way alter the fact that television is solidly entrenched in the daily life of the overwhelming majority of urban workers.

Television is for male workers the "most urgent" of all activities in non-working time (sleep excepted); for working women, it yields only to the urgency of activities connected with everyday services for the family and to services for oneself, but surpasses all types of "leisure activity", even activities with children (see Table 3). The level of education and stages in the life cycle bring only slight changes into the picture (see tables 8 and 16).

Among men, television is the first priority in three educational groups, and is second only to inactive rest among those who have an education of four grades or less. It also holds first place in the two largest family-age groups (fathers of minor children in nuclear and extended families) and shares first place with reading newspapers in one other (older workers). Among women, television holds a high place in the order of priorities in three educational groups (the exception being those with an education of four grades or less). For groups of mothers of minor children, it yields to care for children, and in groups of older working women it is surpassed by their hobbies.

The place and importance of reading. Of the sources of contact with culture listed above, books and newspapers share with television the important feature that reading, too, is predominantly a domestic activity, and for this reason competes with television. But here the similarity ends: reading is a much more individual activity and, above all, demands exertion of mind and feelings and prompts such exertion, providing great possibilities for individual self-improvement and for understanding artistic imagery, the ideas of a publicist and news reports. So television and reading are not just competitors, they supplement each other.

We shall examine this interrelationship as it appears in real life. However, we should note first that reading as an integral category of contact with culture does not exist. Unity of "technology" is not of decisive importance here. In effect, reading newspapers and reading literature accomplish different purposes: the goal of the first is primarily to meet the need for current information, while the second provides recreation, aesthetic experience, and deeper knowledge. Books and newspapers compete with television in different sectors.

We have already mentioned the great urgency of reading newspapers among some groups of workers. It is high on the "scale of urgency" of time expenditures among male workers, approaching and sometimes surpassing television (see tables 3, 8, 16). Among working women, disparities in time spent reading newspapers are quite large, since for them the urgency of reading newspapers yields not only

to television, but also to reading books, not to mention activities in the household and raising children.

We should note first the systematic nature of newspaper reading: the overwhelming majority of workers surveyed read newspapers regularly or at least often (see Table 19). That the corresponding time expenditures are independent of (for men), or only weakly correlated with (for women), total leisure time testifies to the almost universal reading of newspapers in the working milieu. Among married male workers, the duration of newspaper reading is even greater than among unmarried youth, and that despite the increase of obligations about the home (see Table 4). Among married working women, caring for children and performing household chores though they reduce the opportunity to devote time to reading papers (and perhaps interest in them), do not do so to such an extent that one could regard the duration of this activity as being solely dependent on the total amount of free time.

Newspapers are not only a form of contact with modern culture, they are also a product of modern culture. Naturally, the frequency of newspaper reading is greatly dependent on the culture of the urban working milieu and of its different strata and categories.

This influence takes different forms. For example, among working women, the duration of newspaper reading is to a great extent dependent on the level of education: while "the second shift" (housework and care for children) absorbs time and dulls interest in events outside the framework of family and work, a high level of education helps to overcome this negative factor.

Among male workers, who dispose of much more free time, duration of newspaper reading hardly depends on level of education at all: at all levels of education, the average duration of newspaper reading is 2 to 3 hours per week. But the materials of our study reveal a direct connection with age: workers under 20 years of age read newspapers scarcely more than 1.5 hours per week; those from 20 to 29—2 hours; 30 to 39—2.5 hours, and workers over 40, more than 3 hours per week. We would hardly be mistaken to suppose that herein is felt the effect of such a specific manifestation of culture as life experience, which engenders

a stronger feeling of contact with all humanity and, consequently, an enhanced interest in information on the events going on in the world.

In principle, television is a source of the same information as newspapers. So it would seem natural to suppose that as an ever greater number of working people own TV sets, there will be a reduction of time spent reading newspapers. However, comparison of time budgets of workers with and without TV sets shows only a small, practically insignificant, reduction—on the average, 10 minutes per week. Consequently, the fact that television and the press have an identical function as sources of information should not necessarily lead to the exclusion of one of the competitors. For all their similarity, there are also differences that place these activities in different sectors of culture.

The advantage of television is that one obtains information from a living interlocutor, and the information is accompanied by illustrations. But the "consumption" of televised information is of a more compulsory character; one can neither speed it up, make selections, nor put it off to another time. And it is these inadequacies that are not inherent in newspaper information: here the reader is able to show more individuality making his choice according to his own capacities and needs.

Reading magazines—an activity "intermediate" between reading newspapers and reading books—is also widespread in the daily routine of urban workers: the overwhelming majority of workers surveyed subscribed to or regularly read magazines. In contrast to what we observed with respect to newspapers, the highest percentage of subscribers, hence readers, of magazines was among young workers (80-90 per cent), the least—among older workers (50-60 per cent), the middle position being held by married workers with minor children (70-80 per cent). It would be difficult to explain this distribution by family-age groups if there were no data on the direct connection of journal subscriptions with level of education, which, as has been repeatedly noted, is closely correlated with workers' age.

Reading magazines—and not just literary and socio-political (so-called "serious" journals), but also "light", entertainment magazines—demands a higher level of preparation

| Number of magazines | Per cent of educational group at the level of | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | 4 grades and less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | special education |
| WOMEN | | | | |
| 1-3 magazines | 51 | 62 | 71 | 56 |
| More than 3 magazines | 3 | 8 | 13 | 32 |
| Counted in family subscriptions | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.4 |
| MEN | | | | |
| 1-3 magazines | 48 | 60 | 70 | 67 |
| More than 3 magazines | 8 | 10 | 14 | 29 |
| Counted in family subscriptions | 1.3 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.5 |

than reading newspapers. All the same, the difference between "serious" and "light" reading is so great that the substantive character of this activity can be determined only by establishing the specific magazines read. Analysis of questionnaires shows the following: of the total number of magazines received by the workers surveyed, more than half (56 per cent) are of the type of *The Working Woman*, *The Peasant Woman*, *The Light*, *Young Generation*, *Soviet Screen*; more than 20 per cent are popular science magazines—*Young Technician*, *Science and Life*, *Health*, *Around the World*, *Knowledge Is Strength*; finally, *Crocodile* and *Pepper* accounted for 7 per cent.

Thus, entertainment journals account for more than 80 per cent of total subscriptions. Only 5-6 per cent of the subscriptions are to literary ("serious") journals; and among

them, the most popular is *Youth*, which in content and format approaches "light" journals. In addition, the workers surveyed subscribe to various socio-political journals, but most read them in libraries and political study rooms. Therefore, the weight of these journals in workers' total reading activity is not reflected in the data on subscriptions.

In using the concept "entertainment reading", we do not at all want to belittle it. It is a specific type of reading, demands a high cultural level and is one of the means for contact with culture. It is no accident that devotion to reading magazines—including those for entertainment—shows a direct dependence on level of education.

The connection of magazine reading with other living conditions of urban workers will be traced in the analysis of the intensity and frequency of reading books in the working milieu. We are forced to lump together these activities (which have much in common but, also, have a number of differences) because in our materials time expenditures are calculated for books and magazines together rather than separately. Such an approach is justifiable, too, since these activities are, as a rule, closely connected.

Reading belles lettres, political and popular scientific literature presupposes not only the habit of reading, but also a more or less well developed capacity for abstract thinking, so a relatively high cultural level is a precondition for a broad diffusion of this activity. Data on the number of books read in the month preceding our survey testifies that, by and large, such a cultural level has already been reached in the working milieu of Soviet towns: more than half of all workers—both men and women—had read at least one book, and about 10 per cent were such "bookworms" that they had read three or more books.

Of course, this data also shows that reading fiction has not yet become a universal, still less a daily, activity. All the same, these figures and some other materials of our study permit the conclusion that books have entered the daily routine of a significant part of urban workers and are winning an ever firmer position.

Almost all information on book reading in strata of the working milieu that differ in the level of their culture shows

an increase in frequency, regularity and urgency of this activity as living conditions approach the level of modern urban culture. Data on the percentage of workers with different levels of education who had read books in the month preceding the study show this tendency very clearly (see Table 20).

The especially strong influence of education on reading among women can be explained by the fact that, with an excessive load of various sorts of imperative domestic obligations, a higher level of education, just as a higher level of urbanization of living conditions, opens the road to reading fiction and to other forms of contact with the values of spiritual culture¹; while with a greater opportunity freely to dispose of one's time (i.e., among male workers), increased education leads to a restructuring not of the whole time budget, but only of leisure.

It is quite obvious that a specific level of education is a sufficient condition for books to become an imperative part of the daily routine of a majority of urban workers, for reading to become indispensable, to be irreplaceable. The materials of our study show that this level is at present incomplete secondary education (7 to 8 grades). After reaching this level of education, frequency of reading in the working milieu either increases more moderately or does not increase at all.

Some of the results of the study of the daily life and life style of the populace of Taganrog are indicative. With the attainment of a 7-grade education, the distribution of book reading stabilizes at approximately 60 per cent. Materials of the same study, however, warn us against the hasty conclusion that, with the achievement of an incomplete secondary education, the dependence of reading on education disappears entirely. A further rise in the level of education, usually leading us beyond the limits of the working milieu, again results in an increase in reading. In Taganrog, for example, among white-collar specialists the reading of books acquires ever more significance with an increase in

¹ We noted above that, given an increased level of culture, time spent in housework is reduced, or, more precisely, "compressed"; the data of our study support the expectation that books and magazines are among the "absorbers" of the time freed.

education: among women with a higher education, almost 90 per cent of those surveyed regularly read books, as opposed to 70 per cent among those who have a specialized secondary education; among men, the corresponding figures are 80-85 per cent and 70-75 per cent.

This dependence of reading on culture is indirectly supported by the relatively weak connection between the reading of books and magazines and demographic factors.

It is particularly noteworthy that there is no essential difference in mean figures on reading books and magazines between male and female workers of major cities: for both, approximately the same proportion participate in this form of everyday cultural life (see Table 20), and the average expenditures of time on reading books and magazines among women and men is approximately identical—2 hours and 10 minutes per week for women, 2 hours and 20 minutes for men.¹

Naturally, an increase in domestic responsibilities with the beginning of family life cannot but circumscribe, along with other forms of leisure, the reading of books. This tendency is evident more or less clearly in all groups of workers studied. But there is one quite unexpected anomaly: the level of book reading among workers with children is only slightly or not at all lower than among young couples without children, though the volume and necessity of housework increases significantly with children. In all probability, home-centeredness, which is so strong at this stage of life, may even stimulate reading at the expense of other forms of leisure and the consumption of cultural values that require more freedom of choice and "freedom of movement".

¹ These data should be considered more as a tendency than as a rooted achievement of social and cultural progress. The fact is that in small towns, the difference between men and women in this respect is great, almost as great as in other forms of time allocation. Moreover, data on time expenditures by those with a six-day work week also show a significant, "normal" lag by working women: they spend less than half the amount of time reading books and magazines that men do (women spend less than an hour a week, men more than 2 hours), and they lag almost as far behind in frequency of reading books (in the month preceding the survey, only 35 per cent of the women in this group had read at least one book, while among men 57 per cent had read at least one).

We have already observed a similar phenomenon in our analysis of the time spent by workers watching television. This shows once more that it is legitimate to join these forms of cultural life in one category: domestic consumption of culture.

Reduced family concerns at the subsequent stage of the life cycle—among older workers—do not restore the reading of books and magazines to its previous, “youthful” proportions. This is direct testimony to the great dependence of this form of the consumption of cultural values on the level of culture, including education. It is remarkable that, in a different cultural milieu—among white-collar specialists, where there is practically no connection between age and level of education—there is no such decline in reading books with advancing age.

Books or television? Among the most serious and “aggressive” “competitors” of reading is television. An individual stuck at home for one reason or another can choose either books or television. One of the goals of our study was to reveal the interconnection of these forms of contact with culture.

Television, in fact, crowds out books and magazines, though in no group did it do so completely. However, thanks to television, the total time spent by workers in contact with spiritual culture increases quite substantially. Only among younger groups is this increase comparatively small (approximately 10-12 per cent). Among workers of older age groups, time spent on all forms of culture doubles when television appears in the home (as compared to families in which there are no televisions). Thus, one can in no way consider television a cultural liability. It is especially necessary to remember that television does not and cannot crowd out reading among those workers who never read books and magazines. Television neither replaces nor circumscribes books but, so to speak, “tills the soil”, and becomes the first channel for contact with modern culture.

At the other cultural pole of the working milieu, forces are at work that counteract television's becoming the only source for the domestic consumption of culture. For example, one can argue that the close connection of reading belles lettres with the level of education of urban workers, and

in general with the degree of their assimilation of modern urban culture, increases the "resistance" of reading to television. However, the materials of our study support this supposition only indirectly.

Study of the mode of life of the populace of Taganrog can also be used to support this proposition. From these materials, it is obvious, in particular, that among white-collar specialists television has less capacity to exclude other activities than in the families of workers and clerks without special education. For this social group, there is practically no difference in the degree to which women with and women without televisions are dedicated to books, and though white-collar males with televisions read less than those without televisions, the fall-off is not so great as among male workers.

The movie audience. Over the last decades, depopulation of movie theaters has begun in various countries. Many Soviet and foreign researchers attribute this process to the introduction of television into the daily routine of urbanites, inasmuch as the television has brought movies, plays, concerts and even museum exhibitions into the home. The materials of our study support this. At the same time, they tell us that we should not too hastily give up non-domestic forms of contact with culture, among which the leading position—at least in time spent—belongs to movies. From these materials, it is evident, in particular, that movies are even now very popular among urban workers: two-thirds of the workers surveyed had gone to the movies in the month preceding the study, and about a third go to movies no less than once a week (see Table 21).

It is true that the time spent is comparatively small: an average of one hour and 10 minutes to one hour and 20 minutes a week for both men and women, i.e., about 3-6 per cent of the duration of their active leisure. Among working women, going to movies is 12th in degree of urgency, and is comparable with reading books, magazines and newspapers and with walks, while among male workers it holds the same place and is comparable with walks without children, cleaning the apartment, evening or correspondence study and care for children (see Table 3).

The relative stability of this non-domestic, public form of contact with culture is, apparently, only in part a result of tradition, only in part from force of habit, and so on. It is to a greater extent due to people's desire to see movies as their creators intended them to be seen—on a large screen—and to the need for a meaningful form of social intercourse with friends and acquaintances—an activity which, as we have seen, is far from the least important aspect of the daily routine of urban workers. And the advantage of movies and other public performances is that they provide a combination of social intercourse with the consumption of culture.

The latter factor explains the special dependence of going to movies on environmental factors in the daily routine of urban workers. Practical observation suggests that movie theaters are attended primarily by the young. In major cities, movies enjoy the greatest popularity among young, unmarried workers, with their striving for non-domestic forms of leisure activity. The majority of young workers (70-75 per cent) go to movies four or more times a month, i.e., on the average, no less than once a week. On the "scale of urgency", going to movies holds first place (!) for young, unmarried male workers, while for their female coevals it holds sixth place, after all household activities, yielding to only one type of leisure activity—reading books and magazines (see Table 3).

As our study shows, inhabitants of city districts proper go to movies more often than workers who live in suburbs or in homes without communal conveniences (see Table 21). The difference in these time expenditures is just as great between inhabitants of large and small towns, but it manifests itself in specific forms.

The fact that Pavlovo-Posad workers—if we take mean data for men and women—go to movies somewhat less often than workers living in major cities (about 60 per cent as opposed to about 70 per cent) is not really important. The important difference stems from the fact that working women in Pavlovo-Posad go to movies just a little more than half as often as male workers, while in major cities time expenditures on movies are approximately equal for men and women. This is not true of all working women of Pavlovo-Posad;

the young go to movies one and all, just as do young unmarried male workers; even "movie freaks", who go to movies once a week or more, are almost as frequent among young working women as among young male workers: two-thirds for the former, three-fourths for the latter. Married working women, including those without children, go to movies much less often than their husbands and their peers in major cities. Obviously, for town culture, the movie is a type of family leisure, while in "semi-urban" culture, a significant portion of males prefer to pass such leisure outside the company of their wives.

Materials from the study of the populace of Taganrog reveal the same tendency: owners of televisions and residents of the immediate suburbs go to movies less often, more educated workers go more often.

Even more symptomatic is the relative stability of the intelligentsia's interest in movies: white-collar specialists go to movies almost irrespective of whether or not they have televisions. At the same time, male and female workers who have televisions went to movies less often in the month previous to the survey than those who do not own televisions.

Year by year, as the level of education among workers in the Soviet Union rises, the number and percentage of highly educated people increases and the level of urbanization goes up among all strata of the populace. The future of movies as a form of mass contact with culture, and the interaction of movies and television, is far from being so simple a question as it sometimes seems on chance or superficial observation.

The nature of cultural involvement. The mass media play different roles in the lives of young, old and married workers. In this respect, data from our study testifying to the significant—one might even say fundamental—shifts in the structure of leisure among urban workers in the transition from one stage of the life cycle to another are quite indicative.

First of all, the ratio of domestic to non-domestic forms of everyday cultural life changes. Disregarding some unimportant deviations, one can trace three basic stages in this change. In the leisure of unmarried working youth, a great

role is played by active forms of the consumption of culture, forms not connected with the home—about one-fourth of corresponding time expenditures go to such activities. At the next stage—young married workers without children—the share of non-domestic forms of contact with culture are cut almost in half, domestic forms occupy an ever more dominant position. All other workers—married with children, and older (over 40) without minor children—are distinguished both from youth and from the “semi-youthful” stratum by the fact that they literally reduce to a minimum movie-going and other activities that take place outside home or apartment, and the dominance of domestic forms is more than obvious.

But such comparison reveals only the first level of differences between urban workers in dependence on their position in the family-age cycle—differences in modes and forms of consumption of culture, in the degree of contact with specific mass media. If we examine not total time expenditures on these activities but the duration and frequency of each of them, it turns out that differences connected with or caused by differences in age and family situation are even more profound and fundamental.

It is apparent, for example, that leisure among young childless workers is of an essentially different nature than the leisure of married workers with minor children, or older workers—but not because domestic sources of contact with culture consume a smaller portion of their time. The principal differences stem from the fact that the items in the domestic contact with culture are in the two cases of different weight. Among workers of the older generations, television not only almost entirely crowds out movies, but also powerfully constricts other domestic activities in the realm of culture, especially reading, surpassing them 2.5-3 times over. The structure of the corresponding time expenditures among working youth is substantially different: television absorbs less than half (for young males) or even less than one-third (for girls) of the time that is devoted to satisfying cultural needs at home, while reading belles lettres holds an equal or even more “privileged” position.

Young childless couples occupy in this respect, too, an intermediate position: the role of television is for them

much greater than for youth, but far from equals television's role for workers of older generations; reading books and magazines is reduced, but not so much as to be forgotten in the face of "almighty" television.

Analysis of the individual activities connected with the consumption of spiritual culture in leisure conditions might lead to the conclusion that the degree of workers' contact with modern urban culture brings about changes in their leisure almost as profound as changes in age and family situation do.

Among educated young working women there is one quite noteworthy and meaningful tendency: the increasing, though not very significant, weight of newspaper reading (girls with a special secondary or higher education excepted, where it is quite significant). This fact is all the more important since this activity is not very popular among women, and to a certain degree it testifies to the level of political development and activity of the individual.

Among working women who are mothers of minor children, increased education leads, though not very rapidly, to an increase in the weight of non-domestic forms of contact with culture. This is especially true for the extreme group—working women with a special secondary or higher education. In general, given the same, i.e., not very great, amount of time spent on such activities as other married working women, they distribute the time quite differently: television is given less attention, reading more.

Young well educated male workers go to movies a great deal—even for this strata of workers—and consequently spend little time watching television, and, more than others, they spend their leisure reading belles lettres.

Analysis of the allocation of time by the other two educational groups of young workers shows that, given relative freedom in disposition of their non-working time and freedom in selecting one or another form of contact with cultural values, level of education within the limits of 5 through 10 grades has practically no influence on the structure of that part of leisure activity connected with the consumption of culture.

There is, thus, a curious feature in the structure of leisure activity. The extremes converge. The influence of

a higher level of culture is weakest in the daily routine of people with completely different, not to say opposite, potential for disposing of their time: changes in the structure of leisure cultural activities under the influence of education are least noticeable among mothers, who have almost no leisure, and among groups of youths, who have almost complete freedom in selecting their everyday activities. Contrariwise, where housework and care for children, though reducing free time, do not "compress" it to such an extent that there is no freedom of choice, shifts stemming from changes in education are relatively large. We have already observed this in our analysis of the leisure cultural activities of young working women. Analogous conclusions can be drawn from the data on time expenditures among fathers of minor children.

In this latter group, too, an increase in the level of education leads to a redistribution of activities connected with the leisure consumption of culture: movies play an ever greater role, at the expense of domestic forms of leisure (though the absolute and relative indices of this redistribution are not all that large); at each successive stage of education, time spent reading books and magazines grows. Moreover, high levels of education (complete secondary education, special education) clearly engender an important tendency—reduction of time spent watching television.

Thus, a second conclusion from the study of urban workers' allocation of time in the daily routine—to the extent that such allocation is connected with participation in culture for the purpose of rest, recreation, aesthetic pleasure and obtaining information—is that, in the final analysis, no matter how great the influence of different factors in modern urban culture on this side of leisure, on length of contact with different sources of entertainment and information and on the nature of the corresponding time expenditures, it nevertheless yields in each instance to the influence of socio-demographic factors, above all, the family-age situation. Naturally, changes in culture occur constantly, so that over the course of several generations the changes they produce in the daily routine outweigh shifts ensuing from the well-nigh "eternal" processes of the life cycle. It is hard-

ly necessary to demonstrate that understanding this difference in the relative "strength" of cultural and socio-demographic factors, both in historical perspective and at the present day, is not only of theoretical but also of practical import.

2. COMBINING LABOR WITH STUDY

Describing the leisure activities of urban workers, activities connected in one way or another with consumption of cultural values, we have had in view that the goal and content of these activities were primarily rest, recreation, satisfaction of the need for new information and aesthetic experiences.

Those forms of the consumption of spiritual culture that are selected for the sake of conscious and systematic acquisition of a specific system of knowledge are of a completely different character. They are different not only in content and ultimate purpose, but also in their more compulsory nature, the reduced potential to select or replace one activity with another. It would be incorrect to relate this form of contact with knowledge, and spiritual culture in general, to leisure; many features of this activity, in particular its systematic nature, its daily recurrence, make it similar to labor in industry. Yet it is a form of contact with culture in the daily routine.

Activities for the purpose of self-education (above all, study in evening or correspondence schools) have become widespread in the urban working milieu, particularly among the young.

Subjective aspirations and objective demands. The broad distribution of different forms of study is one of the most characteristic features of the mode of life of workers in a socialist society. (In the USSR, almost one-third of the populace participates in some form of study; in the 1971/72 academic year, more than 80 million people were so engaged.¹) Social equality as a principle of socialism reduces to naught the role of one's origin in one's career and more and more insistently moves to the fore personal qualities. Under these circumstances, education takes on the role of a "social

¹ *The National Economy of the USSR in 1972*, Moscow, 1973, p. 627, (in Russian).

escalator". Education increases the civic activity of workers, raises their capacity for highly skilled labor and, in the final analysis, determines their place in the life of society. Many of their subjective aspirations for education and self-education are connected with this, and the objective demands of a developed socialist society push them in the same direction.

In his time, elaborating the program of the newly formed Soviet state, Lenin advanced the thesis: "It takes knowledge to participate in the revolution with intelligence, purpose and success."¹ Four years later he posed this problem yet more sharply: "An illiterate person stands outside politics."² Lenin's words lay at the basis of the program for cultural revolution worked out by the Communist Party. However, the important achievement of the first stages of the cultural revolution—elimination of illiteracy among the adult population of the country and the introduction of universal elementary education—in no way meant that the preconditions for raising the civic potential of the workers of the USSR had thereby been created once and for all. On the contrary, each succeeding stage in social and economic development, and in particular the present stage of building communism, demands ever more insistently a higher level of culture among the builders of this society.

Elimination of "under-education". The basic arena for raising the level of education of the populace of the USSR is, of course, the regular day school: of the 80 million people, mentioned above as participating in various forms of study, more than 45 million are students in this type of school.³ The national economy receives ever more educated recruits from these schools: while the number of students in day schools increased from 1940/41 through 1969/70 by almost 30 per cent, students in grades 1 through 4 increased hardly at all, the number of students in grades 5 through 8 increased by more than 60 per cent, those in grades 9 and 10—by 383 per cent.⁴

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 352.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 78.

³ *The National Economy of the USSR in 1970*, p. 627 (in Russian).

⁴ Calculated from data in *The National Economy of the USSR in 1969*, Moscow, 1970, p. 667 (in Russian).

For many reasons, however, not all workers succeeded in obtaining that general education demanded by their work or by their aspirations. To aid them, the Soviet Government has organized a broad network of schools for urban and village youth and adults. In 1950/51, more than 1.5 million people studied in this system of evening and correspondence education, in 1960/61—2.8 million, in 1965/66—4.8 million; in subsequent years there has been a tendency toward a reduction of these figures—to 3.9 million in 1970/71. But at the same time, the make-up of the students of evening schools has changed: in 1950/51, almost one-quarter of the students studied at a level of grades 1 through 4, while in the 1960s, such students made up only 1-2 per cent of the whole. Simultaneously, the percentage of those in the senior grades, 9 through 11, has risen from 13 per cent in 1950/51 to 38 per cent in 1960/61, and 74 per cent in 1969/70.¹ Eliminating "under-education" has replaced the elimination of illiteracy.

Both these processes are connected with the circumstance mentioned above—the constantly growing number of people receiving an ever higher education within the walls of regular day schools. This does not mean, however, that evening and correspondence schools have outlived their time. On the contrary, the Program of the Communist Party assigns them a most important role in introducing universal secondary education in the USSR.

Worker recruits to the intelligentsia. Among the important social processes taking place in the USSR over the last several decades has been the massive influx of members of the working class into the Soviet intelligentsia (this over and above the influx of children of the working class into the intelligentsia through the "secondary school-university" system). Hundreds of thousands of workers, studying with and without leave from industry, are becoming technicians, engineers, are advancing to leading posts, and carrying out much civic and political work.²

¹ Calculated from data in *The National Economy of the USSR in 1969*, p. 667 (in Russian).

² In the 1970/71 academic year, 4.2 million people studied by correspondence or in the evening divisions of universities and specialized secondary schools (*The National Economy of the USSR in 1970*, p. 637, in Russian).

Materials of the study carried out in Taganrog show that more than half of those surveyed studying in evening and correspondence schools of higher and specialized secondary education are workers, one-tenth are white-collar workers who lack a special education, the rest are specialists (mostly those who graduated from a specialized secondary school). Naturally, there may be other ratios in other towns, but the data will scarcely be different in principle from data obtained in a typical industrial center.

Unfortunately, there are no national statistics that can so specifically describe the tendency toward a combination of labor with professional study. However, published materials show that this form of combining work with education is ever more prevalent in the daily routine of the working populace of the USSR. Approximately 20 per cent of the working populace is engaged in different systems for combining labor with professional education, not counting political study. In the developed capitalist countries, only about 5 per cent of the workers use their free time for study.¹

The general information on the number studying new professions and raising their skills on the job and through courses, as well as those in other forms of study, not counting political education (in 1940/41—9.5 million, in 1950/51—10.6 million, in 1960/61—10.9 million, in 1970/71—18.8 million), in and of itself gives us reason to presume that the majority of these people are not just students, but also, and perhaps chiefly, workers. Among the forms of study and raising skills, many are clearly connected with expenditures of non-working time by blue-collar and white-collar workers.

Of course, this data gives us only the most general picture of the dimensions of and tendencies in the development of professional education, but it does allow us to suppose that this form of raising workers' cultural and technical level is becoming a constant element in the daily routine of the employed populace of the USSR.²

¹ *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets*, p. 125 (in Russian).

² Data on the constant increase in the number of workers trained in evening and shift professional and technical schools support this statement: in 1960, none were trained, in 1961—12.9 thousand, in 1965—134.7 thousand, in 1970—272 thousand.

Problems in combining labor with study. We should recall once more that we are speaking of working people, that we are examining the problem of *combining* labor with study. There must be weighty reasons, and the opportunity to pursue this course to the end, for an individual to choose this difficult path. We have already spoken of the objective reasons, conditioned by the character and pace of social development; and we have mentioned the subjective reasons, connected with education's role as a "social escalator". With respect to opportunities, for working people—including industrial workers—they are connected with two circumstances: first, the state of health, inasmuch as a prolonged combination of work with study inevitably leads to serious overwork and is possible only if the individual can quickly and without serious consequences compensate for the excessive expenditure of physical and nervous energy, and second, the availability of adequate time, i.e., with a moderate load of domestic and other obligations.

It is obvious even without special demonstration that young workers have these and other potentials to a greater degree than their older comrades "burdened" with a family or children or illness. It is therefore natural that, in our sample, the young make up about 40 per cent of those combining labor with study (see Table 23).

But it is not only youth's greater freedom from domestic and family affairs and greater endurance that explains why young unmarried workers more often combine work and study. From *a priori* considerations alone, one can conclude that the need to raise their general or acquire special education is perceived more sharply and realized more clearly by people with more education (and such people are more numerous among youth than in other groups). They are better informed and therefore feel the trends of the time more subtly—life's accelerating pace and, in particular, the tendency toward more complex labor and the alteration of professions that stems from the scientific and technological revolution. On the other hand, those who did not succeed in obtaining in their time an adequate education understand or feel instinctively that it would take too much effort to advance to the frontiers of modern scientific and technological prog-

ress. It is no easy task to overcome this psychological barrier, and very few poorly educated workers (and they are, moreover, especially numerous among the older generation of the working class) can make the fundamental change in the tenor of their life that is needed for evening or correspondence study.

As the materials of our study show, young workers who already have a special secondary or incomplete higher education are the most inclined to continue their education: among males of this group, approximately 75-80 per cent continue their education, among females more than half do so. The least inclined to study are those young workers who have completed no more than four grades: they almost never combine work and study. In the most representative group of young workers—those with an 8- to 10-grade education—about half of the males and females combine work with study.

Data on married workers with minor children reflect the same tendency. Approximately 20-40 per cent of the males and 10-15 per cent of the females of this group who have a complete or incomplete secondary education, or special secondary or incomplete higher education continue to study. Among married workers whose education did not go beyond the 7th grade—and they are a significant majority in this stratum—the situation is as follows: almost no women combine work with study (1-1.5 per cent, which in the given context hardly has to be taken into account), and only very few male workers do so (4-5 per cent). All of this leads to a low general index for the participation of married workers in systematic and organized study. And no matter how explicable this may be by objective reasons, the passivity of married workers vis-à-vis education cannot but cause concern.

This is to some extent a warning signal: changing their family status and especially having children, workers are at present very likely to bog down in the specialty and level of skill obtained in youth, they become potential "outsiders" to the accelerating scientific and technological progress. This danger is the more serious, because we are not speaking of tomorrow's retirees—the majority of male and female workers of this stratum (about 80 per cent of the

total in our sample) are people of from 21 to 40 years of age.

Since we are not able to analyze the distant socio-economic consequences of combining work with raising one's general or acquiring special education, we will turn to a more immediate aspect of this social phenomenon, its place in the daily routine and mode of life of today's working class.

Let us first recall some facts. The duration of activities connected with study is 20-25 hours per week for each working student. That elastic part of non-working time, i.e., the part that remains to be disposed of after satisfying physiological needs such as sleeping and eating, usually is no greater than 50-55 hours per week. Taking housework into account, this time is reduced to an average of 35-40 hours per week for young women and married men and to 45-50 hours for young men.¹ Comparing these figures, there is no doubt that regular expenditures of time on study cannot but affect the duration of other activities, and the whole structure of the daily routine in general.

It is easiest to isolate this influence by comparing the structure of time expenditures outside work between workers of the same family-age group who study and do not study. Unfortunately, we do not have the data for such a direct comparison, so we must instead compare data that only indirectly, though quite eloquently, testifies to the scale and nature of the changes that ensue from study. We will compare time expenditures in the realm of daily life among, on the one hand, young unmarried women as a whole (i.e., both those who do not study and those who do, who make up about 40 per cent of this group) and, on the other hand, the corresponding time expenditures of working women who are students, among whom an especially large percentage (70 per cent) are youth. For men, we will compare indices of time allocation for young unmarried workers, fathers of minor children and male worker-students (of the latter, 40 per cent are young, and 45 per cent are married workers with children).

¹ We are here comparing data on the time expenditures of those groups of workers who constitute the majority of those engaged in study.

Despite the fact that working students spend no less than 20 hours per week on classroom studies and homework, i.e., about as much time as young working women, young male workers and fathers of minor children spend on the average on *all* forms of contact with culture in the daily routine (see Table 17), it would hardly be justified to suppose that, in this case, study is the only form of participation in cultural life. This is not true, though leisure forms of consumption of culture are, of course, reduced: among the relevant group of women, time spent watching television, reading books, magazines and newspapers and at movies is 1.5 times less than the average for all young women, among men—two-thirds less than among young men and half the time spent by married male workers with children.

At the same time, one must keep in mind some of the costs of this process. It is, after all, no secret that over the long years of combining study with work, the basic reading is the textbook. "A specialist is like a swollen cheek," goes the aphorism, and this is especially applicable to specialists trained in the system of evening and correspondence schools.

From the data of Table 17, it is evident that time spent studying is only in part "borrowed" from the sector of leisure connected with the consumption of culture. The rest of study time is taken from other forms of leisure (and not just leisure).

In particular, combining work with study clearly improves the structure of time budgets of urban workers at the expense of such categories as inactive rest. Change in the structure of the daily routine under the influence of evening or correspondence study is also accompanied by definite incursions on sleep: male and female working students sleep 20 to 30 minutes less per day than others from the same family-age groups.

One can scarcely doubt that, for working students themselves, reduction of time spent taking care of oneself and satisfying the family's daily needs (a reduction that is obvious among women, not so obvious but just as real among men) is by and large good. But at whose expense is this good obtained?

From everything that we know about the structure of urban life, one can assert that it is obtained by increasing the housework of working and non-working women—mothers, wives and other relatives. This is the “contribution” that they make to their children’s and husbands’ further education. And much evidence, chiefly in the press, shows that this is no “loan” repaid with interest, but a “free grant”. Consequently, a cause that is on the whole progressive is “paid for” not just by society and not just by those of its members who obtain the fruits of a higher education. Combination of work and study has become so widespread in the USSR partly because it has been supported by the other part of society—people who often do not participate in study at all and even suffer a certain loss on education’s account.

3. NON-PROFESSIONAL CULTURAL CREATIVITY

The “common denominator” of different activities. Examining the role and place of the activities that we subsume in this form of the urban workers’ participation in culture is of no little theoretical difficulty. What is the “common denominator” of such dissimilar activities as, say, studying opera in a Palace of Culture, work in the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, knitting, and breeding tropical fish? As a matter of fact, the proximity of these activities is not so obvious as the proximity of reading, watching television, and going to theaters, exhibitions and movies. Even the external boundaries of this conglomerate of activities are less distinct than for the majority of other categories of everyday behavior in the daily routine. Technical creativity in non-working time is quite often allied with productive and professional activity (and for workers with unstructured work days, they merge); serious study of music is difficult to differentiate—in analysis of time allocation—from strumming the guitar; knitting and sewing are not only close to some activities usually included in housework, they are often a variety of this work, and growing flowers is just as difficult to

distinguish from gardening as part of the ancillary economy.

All the same, activities of this sort have to a greater or lesser degree something in common: their functional proximity. They all have a similar goal: direct free creation of cultural values, creation independent of external constraint, creation born of one's own taste and intellectual and aesthetic needs, creation of cultural values that are consumed primarily by their creator. (Naturally, we are not here referring to the immediate goals of such activities, goals that may be just as diverse as the means for achieving them.) In each of these activities there are present to one degree or another elements that Marx juxtaposed to ordinary leisure as "more elevated activity".¹ As a matter of fact, this is their "common denominator", which allows one to examine all the relevant varieties of time expenditures from a single point of view.

The frequency of amateur activities. There is a broad network of cultural institutions (clubs, houses and palaces of culture, libraries, etc.) in the Soviet Union, which sponsor the most diverse amateur activity. In the trade union system alone, there are about a half million different amateur groups, and it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these groups for the aesthetic education of the populace. Amateurs influence others with their creativity—they annually give about one and a half million performances for an audience of 300 million. In 1971, in the USSR as a whole, 14 million people participated in amateur artistic activity. Yet 14 million is less than 10 per cent of all adults, i.e., clearly inadequate in light of the goals of the Soviet Government. And it is with this that the practical difficulties of our study are connected.

In the sample of workers of major cities that we studied, one type or another of amateur activity was reported for the three days surveyed by 12 per cent of the working women and 16 per cent of the male workers (the corresponding figures for Pavlovo-Posad are 16 per cent and 3 per cent). Variations in connection with position in the family-age

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, 1857-1858, S. 599.

cycle and level of education were not great, and manifested no clear tendency.

One must keep in mind, however, that these data refer basically (especially for working women) to time expenditures on amateur artistic activity. Time spent on technical creativity, on work in the circles and sections of the Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, is not counted separately in the materials of our study, and the frequency of such activities, as playing musical instruments, singing and acting in amateur groups, was insignificant. Therefore, in describing these latter activities (without question more replete with elements of "elevated activity"), we will use primarily data obtained in the course of investigating the life style of the populace of Taganrog, where these aspects of behavior were better reflected.

Among other questions asked in the Taganrog survey were the following: "Do you engage in amateur artistic activity or creativity? In what form?" (with three possible answers: "Participate regularly in a circle, collective or studio"—"Participate independently or from time to time"—"Do not participate at all") and "Do you engage in rationalization or invention? How often?" (possible answers: "Regularly"—"From time to time"—"Do not participate at all"). Analysis of the answers to these questions showed that, among the workers of Taganrog, about 4 per cent of the women and 3 per cent of the men participate in amateur artistic activity, and 4 per cent of the women and 27 per cent of the men in technical creativity.

As is evident, amateur artistic activity involves only a small proportion of the Taganrog workers. Naturally, these mean figures reflect the real situation only approximately; a more precise picture, above all, the dynamics of the process, is provided by indices for family-age and educational-skill groups.

It is to be expected that young unmarrieds are the most active participants in organized and unorganized amateur artistic activity. And this is true of Taganrog. Data on the percentage of subjects in different family-age groups regularly or at least from time to time engaging in independent artistic activity and amateur creativity demonstrates this (percentage of each group):

| | Unmarried youth | Parents of minor children | Older |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------|
| Women | 16 | 2 | 1 |
| Men | 7 | 3 | 0 |

Data on participation in amateur pursuits among workers with different levels of education is of great interest, especially for revealing tendencies: of those with an education of less than 4 grades—about 1 per cent participate; 4-6 grades—2 per cent; 7-9 grades (the majority of Taganrog workers)—about 3.5 per cent; and finally, workers with complete secondary education—6-10 per cent. But we should not forget that the influence of two factors inheres in these figures—not only education, but also age; so the greater activity of workers with a complete secondary education may be connected not so much with the level of culture attained, as with the greater freedom and greater activity characteristic of youth. Similarly, figures indicating a reduction of activity with a reduction in the level of education reflect both the “burdening” of many workers with families and domestic concerns and the greater passivity of older people.

It is more fruitful to compare identical family-age groups of workers and specialists; this comparison better reveals the influence of a cultural factor such as education. It turns out that only given the severe limitations on time so characteristic for mothers and (though to a lesser degree) for older working women, do differences in the level of education play an important role.¹ Among white-collar specialists, approximately 5 per cent of the mothers of minor children in complete families and 4 per cent in broken families, and also 4 per cent of the older women, engage in independent artistic activity

¹ And these differences are quite great: about 70 per cent of the mothers in the working milieu and 80-90 per cent of older women have an education no greater than incomplete secondary, while practically all specialists have a higher or special secondary education.

and amateur creativity. Moreover, among working women the reduction of such activities in the transition from youth to motherhood is much sharper than among women specialists (a reduction by a factor of 8-10 as opposed to reduction by a factor of 2).

We observe quite different tendencies in the activities of worker rationalizers and inventors.¹ At the present stage, the level of workers' job-related culture has the decisive influence on their participation in rationalization and invention: among men, 42 per cent of the highly skilled workers, 27 per cent of workers with average skills, and only 7 per cent of unskilled workers participate in this type of creative activity; among highly skilled working women, 15 per cent engage in rationalization and invention, while only 5.5 per cent of those with average skills and 2.5 per cent of the unskilled participate.

The social role of "elevated activity". Thus, amateur cultural activity is just gathering force in the urban working milieu. We may presume, however, that we stand at the beginning of a period when it will become one of the most important elements of the workers' daily routine.

The works of many sociologists and economists point to a serious contradiction between the headlong growth of the level of education and general culture of workers, and the demands for more creative work stemming from this, on the one hand, and the continued existence of very common trades in which elements of routine, monotony and physically difficult work dominate, on the other. Even work that requires a high level of education is not always creative and varied. The situation is complicated by the fact that even leisure activities are becoming increasingly standardized, which reduces the level of people's creative ac-

¹ Although questions in the questionnaire were posed in such a way that the answers do not make it possible to separate job-related, technical creativity from amateur activity, still, figures on the quite widespread participation of workers in rationalizing production and in invention allow us to state that these activities are hardly limited to the territory and time of production, they are intruding ever more into the daily routine and are taking up more and more non-working time

tivity and by the same token distorts their personal development.

One can hardly agree with proposals, usually implied or veiled, to resolve this contradiction by restricting the growth of the level of education. Even from a purely economic point of view, such proposals are unrealistic, since the development of the economy on the basis of modern scientific and technological achievements and the automation of production is impossible without an increase in the level of workers' education that outruns current needs. Moreover, no matter what benefits their advocates intend, proposals of this sort are immoral—if one proceeds from the ideals of communism—since education accessible to all is perhaps the most important factor in the development of social homogeneity and of complete social equality of all laborers in communist society.

Those scholars who place too many hopes on the law of the transmutation of labor in fact offer no real path to the reduction of this sort of tension, either. At best, this is an attempt to put off the solution of this problem not till tomorrow, but till the day after tomorrow. But the situation demands a search for ways that can today—and the more so tomorrow—resolve many if not all contradictions between the development of the worker's culture and the monotony of his labor and daily routine.

It would seem that one possible way out of this impasse is to develop every conceivable variety of amateur activity, creativity and amateur labor. This sort of activity, to become widespread, needs material and moral support from society: the production of instruments and semi-finished products for technical creativity, musical instruments, materials for cinematographers and photographers, the organization of clubs for stamp and match-box collectors, for ham radio operators and choral musicians, for all possible groups of writers of prose and poetry—it is not easy even to list all the ways and means of encouraging amateur activity without which we will jeopardize the possibilities of turning this activity into an imperative category in the daily routine.

The prospects for spreading amateur activities are linked, too, to the fact that in the upbringing of the new man—the

builder of communist society—an ever greater role will be played by elements of “elevated activity”, which will encompass not only labor, but also everyday behavior outside production. Even in the future, when the weight of creative labor will grow—both through development of present crafts and even more in new crafts that will appear as the automation of industry and administration proceeds—even then, it is hardly likely that all the varied, particularly aesthetic and intellectual, demands of the creative personality will be satisfied on the job. And the very development of the harmonious communist personality of tomorrow is to a great extent a problem of the quality of mastering the values of spiritual culture that have been created by mankind. And solving this problem will be all the more successful, the stronger the creative principle in the people of the new world.

Part Three

**CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE MODE OF LIFE
OF VARIOUS GROUPS
OF URBAN WORKERS**

CHAPTER SEVEN

GROUPS DIFFERENTIATED BY CULTURE AND BY THE STRUCTURE OF THEIR DAILY ROUTINE

The analysis in Part II of the items in the daily routine shows the influence of conditions of life on various aspects of vital activity and on the corresponding types of time allocation; it also shows the nature and direction of this influence. But mode of life, in general, and behavior in the daily routine, in particular, are not simply the sum of different types of activity; they are integral systems that have their own specific features. Therefore, the connection between the mode of life and environmental conditions cannot be reduced to the influence of specific living conditions on specific types of everyday activity. One must examine the connection between environmental factors and everyday behavior as a whole.

Part III of the present work analyzes the connection between behavior as a whole and individual conditions of the daily routine—such as material situation, education, stage in the family-age cycle, etc. In effect, a task opposite to that set in the preceding section is here set. In describing the items of the daily routine, we analyzed the influence of living conditions on specific items. Here we will examine consecutively individual conditions of life and then see how the whole system of everyday behavior changes under the influence of changes in the environmental factors.

The best way to approach these changes is to compare directly the structure of time expenditures among groups of people differentiated by one or another environmental factor. In other words, in order to understand changes in everyday behavior as an integral system, changes engender-

ed, for example, by change in the stage of the life cycle, it is necessary to compare aggregates, sets of time expenditures that are specific, say, for the everyday behavior of youth, young marrieds, parents raising minor children, and other family-age groups. Similarly, the influence of education becomes clear from comparison of the time allocations of different educational groups.

This approach means that we will be looking at the everyday behavior of different family-age, economic, cultural-educational and other groups in the urban working milieu. These groups are formed of people whose circumstances are only identical in some respects but not as a whole. In this sense, these groups, as opposed to social and class groups, are not, strictly speaking, homogeneous formations. Inattention to this sort of distinction, the attempt to apply the techniques and methods of analysis used in discussions of class divisions to groups differentiated by the structure of their daily routine and culture, rather than by class, may lead to errors and confusion.

A model of the relationship between groups distinguished by differences in the structure of their daily routine and their culture, as well as an indication of the comparative influence of different environmental factors on the mode of life, can be obtained from an initial, purely quantitative comparison of time expenditures in the groups studied.

In fact, we saw in Part II that the influence of a specific environmental factor on a particular form of activity can be determined by the magnitude of the changes ensuing from a change in this factor. Having ascertained, let us say, that the difference in time spent in reading between semi-literate and well educated people is greater than that between workers with low and high per capita incomes, we have every reason to state that educational divisions (and consequently the level of education as a living condition) are in the given case and in the given relationship more important than the division by level of income (i.e., material situation).

Similarly, we will consider that the series of "daily routine" and cultural groups in which differences in the aggregate of indices of time allocation are greater is the most closely connected with behavior.

Differences among workers according to family-age and local circumstances are the most distinct. This means that the most noticeable features of the everyday behavior of the workers studied are connected more with differences in locale and stages of the life cycle (at least at any given moment) than with differences engendered by material well-being or education.

The assertion that socio-economic and socio-cultural factors in the environment directly influence the formation of the characteristics of everyday behavior is sometimes met in the literature. This is a mechanical transplantation into this sphere of laws governing the formation of the most general characteristics of the "mode of life". Actually, if we were to study the everyday behavior of the population as a whole, it is quite probable that differences between economic and educational groups would be more noticeable than the difference between family-age groups, for at this level of social life there are differences of a class type that have not yet been overcome even in the USSR and make for economic and cultural differences. However, in the formation of more limited features of everyday behavior, features that lie within the limits of the general characteristics of a sufficiently homogeneous social stratum, other factors may have fundamental importance, and patterns specific to the given range of social phenomena may be operative.

The very socio-cultural homogeneity of a specific intra-class group—in our case, urban industrial workers—limits economic and educational differences. Consequently, the effect of differences in material well-being or education on everyday behavior within the limits of workers' daily routine cannot be very important. In such conditions, the relative role and the weight of characteristics of vital activity engendered by the individual's family-age status naturally grow in importance. The stage of the life cycle quite legitimately comes to the fore among environmental factors directly influencing everyday behavior within a homogeneous social milieu.

The effect of environmental factors on everyday behavior is a multi-stage process or, perhaps more precisely, a process occurring at different levels. At one level, in the formation of the fundamental characteristics of vital activity economic

factors, as well as cultural ones, play the decisive role; at another level, with the appearance of specific features of behavior within the limits of a basic type of vital activity characteristic of a given social stratum, stages in the life cycle are a more important factor than material well-being or level of education.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAMILY-AGE GROUPS

1. STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE AND THE INDIVIDUAL'S ROLE IN THE DAILY ROUTINE

Membership in a specific family-age group, as we have already shown, has an especially strong influence on the character of everyday behavior. The individual's passage along the stages of the normal life cycle changes not only the external conditions, but also the internal content of everyday behavior, its social meaning and object.

Family-age status is reflected in almost all the most important functions of the daily routine; however, at each stage of the life cycle and in each family-age group, these functions acquire a specific aspect and manifest themselves in a special form. For example, depending on the stage of the life cycle, the basic function of everyday behavior in the realm of family relations is, first, the creation of a family, then raising children and maintaining the intimate world of the human soul.

Using traditional sociological terminology, one may say that family-age status determines the most important *roles of the individual in the daily routine*—the role of an individual preparing to create a family, the role of spouse, the role of father or mother, and so on. In this sense, position in the life cycle should be viewed as one of the most important functional and role positions, directly determining the content of everyday vital activity.

The functional role of the stages of the life cycle, direct connection between these stages and the social content of many aspects of everyday activity, explains the depth of their influence on everyday behavior. This is supported

by analysis of individual items in the daily routine and by the indices of time allocation for family-age groups. From the functional nature of this influence ensues the comparatively high level of typological uniformity in the family-age groups. Coincidence with the stages of socio-productive progression and biophysical development further strengthens the influence of family-age divisions.

However, understanding the connection between the life cycle and the functions of everyday behavior is important not only because it explains the relative or absolute magnitude of family-age differences in the mode of life. Such an approach also highlights the essence of the shifts taking place under the influence of the life cycle, the specific features of the daily routine at each stage. Consequently, understanding that the transition from one stage of the life cycle to another leads to changes (or at least alterations) in a number of important functions of vital activity allows us to see not only "to what extent" the behavior of family-age groups is different, but also "how" and "precisely how" it differs for the different groups. It is this aspect of the question that holds the greatest interest for us.

Comparing the duration of some of the important types of activity in the daily routine in the different family-age groups reveals the special features of behavior at the different stages of the life cycle. It goes without saying that in such a comparison, attention is turned primarily to the elastic types of time use (see Table 4).

It should also be remembered that family-age divisions are quite closely associated with educational and material divisions. Many features of time allocation that appear in a comparison of different family-age groups may result not only from the stage of the life cycle, but also from the fact that the young are more educated, that families with minor children have a lower per capita income, and so on. It is, therefore, necessary to supplement this comparison by subdividing family-age groups into groups homogeneous in education and per capita income (see tables 5 and 6). Since the number of people in some of these educational and income subgroups is not very large, the subgroups have been merged into three consolidated categories: youths without children, parents of minor children, and older people.

2. UNMARRIED YOUTH

Socio-cultural "maturation". The family-age series for the employed part of the population begins with the stage of youth. It should be noted that the young in the working milieu that we studied are in many respects to be distinguished from their non-working peers: they have already begun their independent working life, and in this sense their socialization, their integration into society and its norms and traditions, has proceeded much farther than the same process among students. However, the process of socialization and socio-cultural "maturation" is far from complete even for working youth.

Of decisive importance here is the lack of one's own family, the fact that inclusion in the primary cell of the social structure as a principal subject is as yet only in prospect for young workers. It is membership in the "pre-family" stage of the life cycle that is the principal basis for treating young workers as youth in a special socio-demographic sense, and not simply because of age (as opposed, for example, to students, whose inclusion among youth stems above all from their non-participation in social production).

Moreover, incompleteness—or, perhaps more precisely, non-consolidation—of job and cultural socialization is characteristic of working youth. Many workers have not established themselves in their craft, have not yet assimilated the core of knowledge, norms, skills and cultural and ideological concepts that are the basis of personality and the assimilation of which is a special turning point in socialization. After that point the hectic, extensive and multi-sided development of the personality is usually replaced by a smoother, more evolutionary movement.

This situation makes for the special needs of working youth and gives a special character to many of the functions of youth's vital activities in the routine. Three points must especially be noted.

First, creation of their own families is a very important social need of working youth. Securing the conditions in which a family can be formed—in particular, looking for and "recognizing" the future spouse, preliminary acquaint-

tance with people—becomes one of the most important functions of the everyday behavior of youth.

Second, incomplete professional and cultural socialization sharpens and to an important degree alters the need of youth for culture and information. Even after integration into labor, youth needs, objectively, to assimilate knowledge and conceptions of the world, and to master the norms and traditions of society in a speedy way. Perfidious, one might say, primary accumulation of culture continues. And professional activity at the beginning of one's working life is often connected not so much with the ordinary accumulation of production experience in the narrow sense of the word as with a search for one's proper place in social production, with determining more precisely one's craft, altering the general foundation of one's education.

It is natural that social intercourse, participation in spiritual culture and the functions of the daily routine acquire for working youth a specific nuance: their principal content is primary acculturation, a sort of study of culture, the satisfaction of the young person's need for self-affirmation, for inclusion in the world of adults on an equal footing.

Third and finally, one must take into account the greater physical potential and requirements of youth. Biophysiological activity is to one degree or another expressed in all the functions of the everyday vital activity of young workers.

Social intercourse with peers. The combination of these three factors determines the basic features of the everyday activity of working youth and distinguishes their everyday behavior from that of other family-age groups.

The objective need to prepare a family heightens the importance in youth's daily life of various forms of direct social intercourse, especially with their peers. The young person's desire to know the world and his place in it acts in the same direction. A number of informal and so vague, elusive ethical concepts and values cannot be assimilated otherwise than in the course of direct and informal human contacts.

It is natural that the great development of all sorts of behavior connected with extrafamilial intercourse is one of the most important and noticeable features in youth's daily routine. That various types of social intercourse are

widespread, and often universal, among young workers is striking (see Table 7). Visiting, walks, meetings with friends, dances, going to parks, cafes and restaurants—in the course of the three days surveyed, these activities were noted by approximately 60 per cent of young working women and 70 per cent of young male workers. The mean duration of the corresponding time expenditures—7 to 12 hours per week—shows that such activities are repeated several times a week by young people. This almost daily social intercourse outside the family sharply differentiates the everyday behavior of youth from the time allocation of other family-age groups, where visiting, meeting friends and so on is at best part of a weekly cycle. The large amount of time spent on extrafamilial social intercourse is also quite indicative: almost 15 per cent of the total of elastic time expenditures among young women, and more than 25 per cent among young men (as against 5-10 per cent for most other workers).

The specific role of social intercourse in the daily routine of youth is especially apparent in its non-domestic forms. Walks, dances and visiting parks provide, as has been mentioned, great possibilities for establishing all sorts of contacts. Moreover, it is easier for young people to overcome parental control and to feel independent outside the home. It is natural that the difference between youth and other family-age groups in intensity of social intercourse reaches the greatest dimensions outside the home.

It is for this reason that activities only indirectly connected with social intercourse (in particular, going to movies and other performances) are especially popular among young workers. And the role of social intercourse as one of the reasons for the special popularity of public performances among the young is supported by a peculiar "proof by negation". For if the reason for this popularity were only the content of movies, it would be impossible to explain the relatively limited (compared to other groups) attention that young workers give to television, though the latter often duplicates the content of public performances.

The role of study and books. Another feature of the daily routine of young workers is the important role of activity connected with the consumption of the values of spiritual culture and, to a certain extent, connected with amateur

cultural activity. Young women in our sample spend almost 45 per cent of all the elastic time in their daily routine on activities of this sort, young men—somewhat more than 50 per cent (at other stages of the life cycle, the corresponding figures usually do not exceed 10-20 per cent for women and 30-40 per cent for men). In its general duration—an average of more than 3 hours per day—youth's participation in culture far surpasses all the other elastic types of vital activity.

The enormous role in the life of the young of activities connected with the consumption of spiritual culture is quite normal and is connected with the incompleteness of the professional and cultural aspects of youth's socialization and with the specific functions of daily life that stem therefrom.

The accessibility of evening and correspondence education, typical for socialism, brings in its train educational, organized consumption of spiritual culture by a large part of the young. Study activities absorb on the average 1.5 hours per day, i.e., only slightly less than half of the time expended on participation in culture (in most other family-age groups, only one-fifth to one-eighth of the time allotted to spiritual culture is spent on study). With respect to the daily routine of working youth as a whole—and at this stage in our exposition we are dealing with just this problem—the widespread combination of work with study is, without a doubt, one of its clearest and most noticeable features.

It is worth noting that this frequency of study among working youth is a specific feature precisely of the socialist mode of life. As an international comparative study of time budgets showed, the frequency and average duration of study among the active part of the populace of the socialist world (and particularly in the USSR) is several times greater than the corresponding indices for capitalist countries.¹

The great frequency of study in the milieu of working youth reflects the need not only to complete cultural, but also professional socialization; through study, young workers define and consolidate their position in the realm of

¹ *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets*, p. 125 (in Russian).

labor. In this sense, the process, which is, strictly speaking, a part of the daily routine, is a direct consequence of processes in the realm of production.

The need for rapid assimilation of the basic knowledge and concepts inherent in the given society illuminates one further characteristic of youth's consumption of spiritual values—the heightened importance of books in their lives. In the days surveyed, 70-75 per cent of young workers read belles lettres; the average duration of this activity was approximately four hours per week. Books seem to be a much more effective means for assimilating the fundamental values of culture than television or newspapers.

The universality of reading, together with widespread evening and correspondence study, form specific features of the consumption of spiritual culture, features stemming, in the contemporary working milieu, from youth precisely as a special stage in the life cycle.

The place of sports and tourism. The third specific characteristic of the everyday behavior of young workers is a greater development of sports, tourism and trips out of town than in other groups of the family-age series. The connection of these activities with the young organism's striving for a healthy "play of physical forces", and in part with social intercourse, is completely obvious and scarcely needs elucidation. Unfortunately, it is still necessary to speak of the relative rather than absolute frequency of sports and exercise in the milieu of working youth. Of course, young workers allot these activities more time and attention than people senior to them; but even among youth, they are not at all universal. Some sort of sport or tourist activity (including simple exercise) was reported in the three days of the survey (of which two were non-working days) by only one-third of the young male workers and by no more than one-sixth of the young women; the corresponding mean expenditures of time were 15 and 5 minutes per day. Approximately the same results have been obtained in the course of other studies.¹ Sports is both an element of everyday life

¹ See, in particular, *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets* (p. 107, in Russian), where mean figures on the duration of sports are given for a category more or less corresponding to youth as used in our study.

as public entertainment and, frequently, as an episodic activity. But it is a regular, active form of vital activity for only a small group in almost all strata of the populace, including working youth.

Social problems in the daily routine of youth. Thus, intensive social intercourse, intensive consumption of cultural values and, in part, sports form the specific features of the everyday life of urban working youth. In principle, this special character of the daily routine of youth is normal. Nevertheless, specific features of this everyday behavior engender a multitude of important and often difficult social problems.

The need to take into account the specifics of youth's vital activity arises at the most diverse levels. Thus, even from our limited data it is evident that youth's role in the movie audience or among readers of belles lettres surpasses substantially its weight in the population. Young people, who made up one-fifth of our sample, read almost one-third of the books that were read in the month preceding the survey and accounted for about half of the movies attended. Obviously, cultural policy cannot ignore this circumstance.

Similarly, any serious attempt at social regulation of everyday behavior must take into account the "territorial division" of vital activity in the realm of social intercourse, culture, sports and so on between the young and other strata of the populace. The heightened role of extrafamilial social intercourse in the lives of young men and women leads to a relative, and at times absolute, predominance of youth in the crowds in parks, squares, recreational areas, streets, and embankments that in any given town traditionally serve as a place for meetings and walks.

In particular, examining the figures in Table 14, which concern youth, the disparity between time expended by young workers on direct forms of social intercourse (walks, visiting parks, dances, entertaining guests and so on) and activities such as sports, tourism, and amateur activity stares one in the face: the first group of activities consumes 4 to 5 times as much time as the second. Such a correlation testifies to a low level of the culture of social intercourse among a part of young workers. After all, sports,

tourism, creative activity (just as attending public performances) also provide inter-personal contact, including those informal contacts that play so important a role in the life of young people.

In this regard, encouraging sports, tourism, and amateur activity, above and beyond its immediate importance, is a way to influence the very nature of social intercourse.¹ Moreover, in the urban working milieu this is practically the most opportune and rapid method for stimulating a balanced structure of contacts among the young.

Of course, it would be absurd to think that stimulating activities that combine social intercourse with other functions can fully resolve the problems connected with inter-personal contacts among the young. Social intercourse *per se*, even if its correlation with sports, tourism and independent creativity changes somewhat, will always have an important place in the life of young people. Naturally, creating conditions that improve social intercourse as such is just as important for society's educative influence on youth as the development of sports and amateur activity. It is for this reason that small clubs for youth, cafes and halls in which social intercourse among the young can occur and where it is possible to give this intercourse more cultured forms, are so important.

As has been noted, most young men and women allot time to walks and meetings with friends outside the home several times a week. Consequently, the network of premises and institutions assigned for social intercourse among the young must be able to handle a large part of youth at one time. Society here faces a task to a certain degree similar in scope to the task of creating a system of evening and correspondence schools, for social intercourse is just as necessary for youth as education.

Of course, expanding the opportunity for social intercourse in its pure form within specialized institutions, as well as changing the proportions of "pure" and "composite" social contacts, are measures that in themselves touch only limited aspects of the problem. The level of social inter-

¹ Study of time budgets in Pskov likewise leads to the conclusion that social intercourse during a concrete activity has a greater educative influence than contact in its "pure" form.

course is, in the final analysis, a manifestation of social culture as a whole. In this sense, improving conditions for the general progress of culture is the best way to raise the level of youth's social intercourse.

3. THE YOUNG FAMILY

From marriage to childbirth. The stage of the normal life cycle following upon youth is connected with the formation of a family and the initial period of its development—up to the appearance of children. In most cases, this period is not very long (about 1 or 2 years—the fact that young, childless couples constitute only 10 per cent of the married workers in our sample accords with this fact); however, this period has a character of its own and so deserves special treatment. Nevertheless, our analysis must of necessity be short: because of its brief duration, the early stage of family life is represented in our sample by a comparatively small number of subjects, so we can treat their time allocation only in its most general features.

The substance of the first stages of married life consists of—though this sounds quite tautological—the creation of a family, the conversion of a formally declared marriage union into a true family hearth. And this is perceptible in almost all functions of the daily routine of young marrieds.

Thus, the meaning of housework at this stage of the life cycle cannot be reduced to basic self-service, as for youth. In addition to satisfying their everyday material needs, young couples must set up house. From the need to “feather the nest” stem the specific features, the major functions, of housework in the young family.

But the family hearth is not simply a common domicile and joint property. The nature of a family is not exhausted by economic or material relations in general (or even by the relations of childbirth). A normal family is, aside from everything else, a most important unity of spiritual relations, the basis for the intimate world of the couple and of minor children.¹

¹ A. G. Kharchev defines the family as follows: “A family is a small social group based on marriage and kinship, a group the members of which are parties in living together and in mutual support”

It is clear that the mutual adjustment of the couple, the convergence of their habits, concepts and values, the emergence of a common mode of life, is a condition for turning the family into a unit of the intimate world. This convergence, this mutual adjustment, is not completed with the act of marriage. On the contrary, it is in the initial period of married life that this process is most intense. In effect, mutual adjustment is a special function of the daily life of young couples. This explains many of the characteristic features in the everyday behavior of young couples.

The need to start a home of their own leads to an increase in the duration of housework by young marrieds (as compared to figures for unmarried youth). For women at this stage of family life, domestic concerns absorb more than half of the total elastic time expenditures, which attain an average of 24-25 hours per week. The absolute duration of housework is for men much lower—about 12 hours a week—but is still of a significant magnitude—more than one-quarter of the total elastic types of time allocation. And the rate of increase of time spent on housework is even greater for men (the time doubles) than for women (time spent in housework increases 1.5 times).

The very nature of housework changes, too. It is no longer connected so much with self-service, as is the case among youth, as with the initial organization of family life. It is no wonder that the central place in the housework of young husbands is held by carpentry for the home, work in repairing premises, household appliances, furniture, and so forth. For women, the increase of time spent cleaning house and caring for clothing and footwear is explained by the same reasons. However, the most prolonged and the most frequent domestic obligation of women immediately after marriage is kitchen work—cooking, washing dishes, etc. To a certain degree, the abrupt increase in kitchen work can be explained by this same desire to create one's own domestic hearth, one of the pillars of which is still, given contemporary customs and mores, the kitchen stove.

(A. G. Kharchev, *The Daily Routine and the Family in Socialist Society*, Leningrad, 1968, p. 9, in Russian). The author goes on to stress that he has in mind not only material, but also spiritual support, spiritual involvement in a joint life. (Ibid., pp. 9-11.)

Other features of the everyday behavior of young couples—in particular, features connected with social intercourse, the consumption of culture, etc.—are also distinguishable.

The need for mutual adjustment and the need to include the young family in a new system of family relations plays the decisive role. From this stems a change in the nature of social intercourse. Mobile social intercourse involving contact with a multitude of people on the street, in parks and at dances is significantly reduced: since the family has already been formed the need for this sort of contact is, quite naturally, less. At the same time, the intensity of domestic forms of social intercourse increases. Almost three-fourths of all young marrieds either go visiting or entertain guests at least once a week. Visiting is the principal form of inter-personal contact in the life of young families, and it is at this stage of the life cycle that its duration and frequency are greatest (see tables 4 and 7).

Meeting guests is a sort of demonstration of the emergence of a new family, a way to strengthen it by growing into a pre-existing network of everyday human relations, informal groups, etc. In the contemporary working milieu—at any rate, for married workers—this network is largely defined by connections with relatives. It should be recalled that almost half of all non-professional social intercourse among the workers studied is with relatives. Therefore, for the young family it is especially important to enter the system of kinship groups to which the spouses separately belong. Hence the specifically kinship, familial-domestic nature of social intercourse among newly marrieds: in Taganrog, more than 80 per cent of young couples noted that they visit most often with relatives (the corresponding figures for youth are 30-40 per cent, for mature families, 60-70 per cent).

We should note that social intercourse with relatives and friends, too, aids the mutual adjustment and “breaking in” of young marrieds.

Nevertheless, the main role in the mutual adjustment of spouses is of course played by their own social intercourse; guests and meetings with friends only ease the complex work of forming a spiritual community. Unfortunately, the data of time budgets do not reflect this side of the everyday behavior of young marrieds, intrafamilial intercourse in all

its fullness. However, some consequences of this process are quite definitely reflected even in materials on time allocation. Specifically, a rise in the relative and sometimes even absolute duration of domestic forms of the consumption of culture is quite characteristic of young marrieds; their daily routine is in general much more domestically centered than the daily life of youth. True, for many this is nothing more than an increase in the amount of time spent watching television, for the other basic type of domestic consumption of culture—reading—is at this stage of the life cycle somewhat reduced.

4. THE MATURE FAMILY

Rearing children and housework. After the initial stage of family life, there normally ensues the fundamental, central stage of the life cycle—a developed, mature family, including minor children. As a rule, this period lasts no less than two decades and usually coincides with the period of greatest labor activity. It is quite natural that fathers and mothers of minor children constitute the largest group of workers in the family-age category among workers.

The leading place in the everyday activity of mothers and fathers in the modern city is held by the creation and maintenance of conditions necessary for the normal existence of a family: self-service and to an even greater extent service for its members, including those who do not participate in housework (or participate only in part). The enormous importance of the service function at the central stage of the life cycle explains why, in the common sense of the term, the concept of the daily routine is identical to domestic obligations.

For working mothers of minor children, more than half of all elastic time expenditures are spent on household chores (about 4-5 hours a day)—more than at any other stage of the life cycle. In effect, housework becomes the dominant aspect of the daily routine, determining the scope of all other types of the everyday activity of mothers.

Men in mature families spend 1.5-2 hours daily on housework (about one-fourth of all elastic time expenditures),

i.e., the same as at the beginning of marriage, but domestic concerns now have for men an everyday, commonplace character, and many of these chores are repeated more often than among young marrieds. The element of compulsion and necessity is felt much more strongly here than in the first period of family life, when housework is inseparable from setting up house and is therefore perceived as a temporary and in part pleasant obligation.

Yet the most specific function of the daily routine in this period is rearing children—it is, after all, minor children who constitute the most characteristic feature of the evolution of the family at the central stage of the life cycle. The need to rear children—and not simply to provide the material conditions for their life—determines to a very great extent the specific character of the daily routine at the central (parental) stage of the life cycle.¹ In the future, the importance of this aspect of everyday behavior will, without a doubt, grow even more.

For mothers, various special activities with children—from care for them to games, walks, talks, checking their lessons, and so on—take up an average of slightly more than an hour per day, for fathers—slightly less than an hour.² Fathers, however, give more attention to activities involving entertainment and rearing proper (games, reading, walks, checking school homework), while mothers give most attention to direct services for children, services that include elements of housework.

The total duration of housework and activities with children is so great that it inevitably limits other forms of activity. The consequences of this pressure are especially obvious among women. As is evident from tables 4 through 6,

¹ Responding to the question: "If you had more free time, how would you dispose of it?"—the overwhelming majority of male and female workers surveyed in Taganrog who had minor children gave priority to the answer: "Rearing children".

² Only primary types of activity are herein considered. Activities with children that simultaneously involve other types of activity (noted in the time budgets as basic activities) are, naturally, allotted much more time (it is enough to recall the data compiled from the materials of the international comparative study of time budgets, which calculated expenditures of time on activities at which children were present).

all time spent on extrafamilial social intercourse, cultural activity, sports, trips out of town, etc., totals for women only 10-12 hours per week, or less than one-fifth of all the elastic forms of time allocation (as against approximately 40 hours per week spent on housework and in activities with children). For men, the constraining role of housework and activities with children is much weaker—these types of time utilization consume among fathers only 20 of the 45-50 hours of the available weekly fund of elastic time. Nevertheless, even for them the scope for social intercourse, cultural activity, sports and so on is noticeably less than at earlier stages of the life cycle.

The orientation of social intercourse and cultural life. At this stage, social intercourse and cultural life lose that "extreme" character that they have for youth and young marrieds; the main substance of these activities now becomes rest and recreation, satisfaction of the normal need for current information, aesthetic experience, amateur activity, etc. The hectic expansion of social contacts and assimilation of cultural values typical of youth and newlyweds is more moderate for the mature family and takes on an intensity average for the given era and given society. Hence the increased domestic-centeredness and, to a certain extent, passivity of social intercourse and consumption of culture in mature families.

The principal varieties of everyday social intercourse in this period are its domestic forms—above all, entertaining and visiting. For the majority of married women, this is in effect the only type of extrafamilial social intercourse in the daily routine; it absorbs an average of 80-90 per cent of the time given to extrafamilial social intercourse. For men, entertaining and visiting is not of such primary importance, but even for them it absorbs the greater part of the time allotted to social intercourse. And if we add time spent on games such as dominoes and cards, which are a special form of "semi-domestic" social intercourse, the ratio of domestic and non-domestic contacts is about the same for men as for women.

The "domestication" of daily life in the area of cultural activity is just as clear. Domestic cultural activities occupy for married workers two-thirds to three-fourths of all time

spent on culture, while for youth and newlyweds, the corresponding figure is one-third to one-half.

Television acquires a special role in the daily routine of parents. Television is allotted over half the time connected with everyday participation in culture (as against 10-15 per cent for youth and 30-35 per cent for young marrieds). Television watching is truly universal in mature families: in the three days covered by the survey, 75-80 per cent of the fathers and mothers studied watched television, i.e., all those who have televisions, and some more besides. True, mothers spend less time watching television, but this is primarily a result, not of choice, but of the greater volume of their domestic responsibilities. (It is noteworthy that the vast majority of women watch television at the same time every day, i.e., their TV watching is a function of free time rather than of the content of the program.) It is at the central stage of the life cycle that television as a source of general cultural information, aesthetic experience and everyday entertainment replaces both public performances proper and, in part, newspapers, and gradually takes on a quite exceptional role in the daily routine of urban workers.

Reduction in the time parents spend reading books and magazines would seem to contradict the general tendency for domestic forms of consumption of culture to become more important. This reduction cannot be explained by such attendant circumstances as, say, a lower level of education in the older age groups or the widespread ownership of televisions in families that have existed for a more or less extended period of time. Comparison of data for people of different family-age status within a single educational group, as well as comparison between families with and without televisions (see tables 5 and 12), supports the view that, in the working milieu, a reduction of reading stems to a certain degree precisely from the transition from one stage of the life cycle to the next.

It is apparent that increased labor activity, the expansion of family obligations and burdens, and in part age itself, increase the need for simple rest. This need is reflected in many aspects of the daily routine, including the choice, often unconscious, of the forms in which culture is consumed. Moreover, reading almost always has an individual charac-

ter, while some other forms of the domestic consumption of culture, above all television, have an element of family participation. In this sense, the lower intensity of book and magazine reading is just as normal a consequence of the change of the function of the daily routine in mature families as the increased domestic orientation, the heightened role of television, etc.

Of course, one must not forget that the transition to the mature period of family life coincides in most cases with an increase in labor and social activity and with the rearing of children. It would be mistaken to hold that, among married people, the mode of life as a whole becomes more passive. But the predominantly family and domestic orientation of vital activity outside the realm of production and a certain increase in passivity in the area of culture and extrafamilial social intercourse are, in fact, characteristic of the everyday behavior of parents. In other words, what is at issue are more passive forms of the mode of life in the daily routine.

Stating this fact implies no negative judgement of such forms of the everyday routine at the central stage of the life cycle. An increased family orientation in non-working time is in effect one of the necessary prerequisites for the normal functioning of the family, and provides the spiritual and physical potential for increasing the activity of family members in other areas of vital activity—in labor, social life, rearing children, and family life.

We should at the same time note that this tendency is positive only to a certain degree. If excessive, it loses its socially redeeming value and becomes a source of phenomena hampering healthy social development. Unfortunately, in modern urban life, there are shifts in everyday behavior following upon the formation of families that are disproportionate in the extreme and not at all desirable. Because of overdevelopment, a tendency that is fundamentally normal may engender a certain lack of balance or, if you prefer, an "abnormality" in the daily routine of the majority of working parents.

The most important and obvious element of disproportionality in the daily routine at the family stage of the life cycle is, without a doubt, the excessive volume of housework,

required to maintain the normal functioning of the family. As is apparent from the data adduced above, in a family consisting of working parents and minor children, imperative obligations (housework and care for children) absorb up to 50 hours of the adults' time per week.

Providing for the everyday needs of the family demands of parents an expenditure of labor equivalent to almost two-thirds of the time they put into social production. There is every reason to maintain that the total work load (i.e., total work on the job and at home) is, at the central stage of the life cycle, a 10-12-hour working day. This burden does not testify so much to a normal growth of domestic concerns in families with young children as to the fact that the service sector in the contemporary city is as yet inadequately developed; and this lack of development leads to a lack of balance in the daily routine. It is natural that development of the service sector, as the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and many other Party and state documents testify, is at the present stage one of the most important prerequisites for improving social relations and increasing national well-being.

The work load of married women. One of most severe, and in fact most painful, disproportions in the daily routine of married workers is the great inequality in the everyday activities of fathers and mothers. There is no question that certain differences in the life style of men and women, even when they belong to one and the same social or cultural circle, are legitimate and justifiable. The functioning of the family, and of society as a whole, requires a division between the roles of young men and young women, between fathers and mothers. The problem is not the differences *per se*, but the character and dimensions of these differences, especially at the central stage of the life cycle.

We should note, first, that differences in the everyday behavior of men and women usually increase precipitously after the formation of a family. This has been noted repeatedly in the preceding analysis of specific types of activity. Analysis of aggregate time expenditures fully supports this conclusion.

Even more important is the fact that differences between life styles of men and women at the central stage of the life

cycle in practice take on the character of socio-familial and socio-cultural inequality. Everyday obligations in urban worker families (and not only in families of workers) are so distributed that mothers must shoulder primarily the obligations and activities connected with housework, while fathers are able to give a great deal of their non-working time to entertainment, cultural activity, social intercourse, and so on. In other words, elastic time among married men is basically free time, while women must devote most of their elastic time to meeting imperative domestic obligations.

And in fact, of the 50 hours a week that working parents together allot to housework and activities with children, more than three-fourths falls to the lot of women.

Therefore, for women, transition to the mature stage of family life means not that culture and social intercourse become more passive, but that the time for these activities is simply intruded upon and reduced. Organized and purposeful types of cultural activity—study, self-education, amateur activity—literally disappear from the everyday activities of the majority of mothers in the working milieu. Even domestic consumption of cultural values is reduced to a minimum: the average weekly duration of reading and watching television is for these groups only 6-7 hours, and more than half of this is on days off; on working days, many working mothers have no time even for television.

Extrafamilial social intercourse is just as limited in the daily life of married women. Non-domestic types of social intercourse—walks, visiting parks, restaurants, etc.—simply do not exist for the overwhelming majority of them: only 16 per cent of married working women noted such activities in the course of the three days of the survey. Judging by data on duration and frequency, the whole of extrafamilial social intercourse for mothers boils down to visiting or entertaining on an average of once every two to three weeks.

Of course, there remains to working women social intercourse with their colleagues at work. However, it cannot (and should not) replace intensive human contacts outside the realm of labor. Only a combination of social intercourse at work and among friends and kin can satisfy the normal

need for direct human contacts.⁷ It is the more important to attend to the inequality of women in mature families and seek ways to eliminate their inequality, since in the modern Soviet city mothers are practically the only group that bears this burden. The time is past when social inferiority and socio-familial inequality of women began with childhood and continued for their whole life. In our society today, differences in the life style of young men and women are as a whole normal, connected with the natural biological and psychological peculiarities of the sexes. The cultural, social, and professional opportunities of young men and women are in fact (and not just juridically) equal. One may even say that young women use these opportunities more effectively: the data of the All-Union Census of 1959 show that the level of education among women of under 35 years of age is higher than among men of the same age (in older groups, the level of education of which reflects the situation that existed some decades ago, the opposite is true). Preliminary data from the 1970 Census confirm this tendency. Running somewhat ahead, we should note that in old age, too, the inequality of men and women is being reduced, and continues now only because of tradition.

But after marriage, and especially after the birth of children, women are in fact in a more difficult position, which retards their cultural and professional growth and leads to the fact that the skills of working women are lower than those of male workers.

There are various ways to ease the burden of women in the daily routine. Where conditions permit, women with minor children should more often be given a shorter work week, shorter shifts, etc. Study of time expenditures shows, too, that in most families it is possible to rationally redistribute obligations within the family and thus reduce the burden on mothers.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU indicated a number of measures for easing women's labor in the domestic economy. Emphasis is being placed on improving and extending everyday services to the population—development of a system of services, especially those that cater to family needs (production of semi-finished products, organization of home improvement services, providing household appliances, and other measures directed to saving time in the household).

Limitation of the period of women's inequality in the daily routine to the central stage of their life cycle has quite complex consequences. Objectively progressive shifts (the process of "compressing" the area of inequality is, unarguably, progressive) lead here, as often happens in social life, not to an easing but to an increase in socio-psychological tension. A woman's excessive work load and inequality in the daily routine follows upon a childhood and youth passed in conditions of equality and, moreover, develops while equality is maintained in labor and in the social climate, where the principle of the equality of men and women is one of the leading social ideals. In such a situation, women's dissatisfaction with their inferior status in daily life is not reduced by an easing of their lot as a whole—in fact, their discontent increases.

It is apparent that women's dissatisfaction with the burdens of their daily routine in the mature period of family life has some quite specific consequences, in particular, in the realm of demography. As we know, the rate of birth per thousand in cities in the period 1950-70 has fallen from 26 to 16—this when the 1950s and 1960s saw a rapid improvement in material well-being, improvement of housing conditions, expansion of the network of pre-school institutions and a comprehensive development of the system of communal services. Care for children now demands much less time and energy of mother than it did several decades ago.

For the modern urban woman, maternity is accompanied not only by eternal, natural concerns that are undoubtedly imbued with joy and happiness, but also by the renunciation of equality in daily life, equality enjoyed until the appearance of children. The increase of relative burdens leads, despite the absolute easing of the process of raising children, to the deferment of motherhood or a limitation of the number of children.

Perhaps, even more important in this case is the heightened role of creative work and free utilisation of time in the value system of working women. Here, too, maternity means at least a partial renunciation of the values of labor and leisure (earlier, these values had much less importance or were of no import at all).

Thus, maternity in the modern city is connected with

a sharp and disproportionate increase in the burdens of the daily routine of women. It is not a matter of the absolute burden of the daily routine, but of the change in this burden after the equality of youth. It is worth remarking that the birth rate is highest where remnants of the inequality in the daily routine extend to the whole course of a woman's life. The situation of women may be more difficult as a whole, but the transition from youth to maturity is often not so traumatic. The development of the system of services to a level providing not only for absolute but also for a relative easing of the burdens of maternity is one of the necessary prerequisites for stabilising the birth rate and improving the conditions for raising children. It is for this reason that the program of social measures outlined in the Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU on the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR in 1971-75 envisions expanding the benefits for working mothers "in order to create better conditions for rearing the younger generation".¹ The main thing is not, however, any specific, concrete benefits for women, but the whole system of measures, the whole spirit of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, which are intended to place a solid industrial base under the daily routine of the Soviet people. This will in the future reduce socio-psychological tension and eliminate the disproportions in the daily routine noted above and still making themselves felt.

Features of the daily routine of men. The negative consequences of the disproportions, not the least of which is the extreme overburdening of women, are clearly expressed in the daily routine of men, too. True, the volume of domestic obligations for fathers remains within reasonable limits (13-15 hours a week, including care for children), but this makes even clearer the vastly increased passivity and domestic-centeredness in the everyday behavior of men in the mature period of their family life.

This is not surprising. In conformity to the traditions and norms accepted in most areas of the Soviet Union, most of the entertainment, consumption of culture and social inter-

¹ 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Minutes, Vol. II, Moscow, 1971, p. 285 (in Russian).

course among married men and women should have a family character. The excessive work load borne by wives thus inevitably limits the range of the everyday behavior of husbands, even when they have sufficient time free from domestic obligations. Hence the situation indicated by the data in tables 4 through 6, a situation that at first glance seems strange. The duration of participation in culture, extrafamilial social intercourse and suchlike forms of everyday activity among fathers—as distinct from mothers—is only slightly reduced in comparison with younger men, but for many, cultural activity and social intercourse take on the same limited, excessively passive, “domestic and television-centered” character as is the case with married women.

Indicative in this respect is the fact that, for all their absolute difference, the structure of time expenditures connected with culture, social intercourse, sports, recreation outside town and so on, is approximately identical for fathers and mothers.

In other words, overloading women with everyday cares frees time for leisure among married men, but in the final analysis it also foists on fathers a passive, domestic structure for the allocation of this time. The abruptness of the transition from active and multifaceted use of time in youth to the limited and comparatively monotonous daily routine of men at the central stage of the life cycle, reminiscent of a sudden stop by a runner, inevitably engenders sharp (though not always conscious) psychological tension.

It is quite possible, in particular, that the situation arising in the family as a result of the fact that women are oppressed by the burdens of the daily routine and men by its monotony is one of the reasons for divorce.

Divorces resulting from a conscious or unconscious reaction to the disparities in family life entail all the harm connected with the dissolution of a family but do not excise the harm that led to the divorce. In new families created by the erstwhile spouses, the same disproportions earlier present are preserved: the overworking of the wife, the excessive passivity of the husband, the psychological tensions that flow therefrom, etc., etc.

Nevertheless, divorce is only the extreme and, in absolute figures, relatively rare consequence of lack of balance in the

daily routine. In the working milieu, fathers seek an outlet from the monotony and humdrum of domestic life in drink.

Of course, it would be naive to contend that the reasons for drunkenness and divorce can be reduced simply to the excessive burdens of mothers and the limited nature of the daily routine of fathers. Social processes of this type are the result of many and at times quite varied circumstances. But it is just for this reason that knowledge not only of the general reasons but also of each factor contributing to the aggregate that determines the course of the processes as a whole is a necessary condition for the further strengthening of the family and the eradication of drunkenness.

5. OLDER WORKERS

The transition to old age. The final family-age group in the milieu we have studied is the group of older workers whose children have grown up and become independent. This group is in an intermediate situation: older workers who yet continue to work are, in contrast to youth and parents, not a pure family-age type, but rather a transitional category that forms at the intersection of maturity and old age.

The intermediate position of this group substantially reduces its typological significance. Specific functions and features of everyday behavior at this stage are much less pronounced than at the preceding stages of the life cycle. Specific characteristics of a mode of life are here somewhat effaced: in some respects and for some people these characteristics are reminiscent of the daily routine of parents, in other respects and for other people they approach the time allocation of retired people. This makes an integral description of the everyday routine of older workers more difficult.

Moreover, the fact that there are few of them substantially reduces the reliability of data on their time expenditures. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to a few observations, primarily on those aspects of the daily routine of this group that seem to reflect features of behavior common for older and aged people. We hope that such an approach will make it possible to highlight some of the tendencies

characteristic not only of the last period of working life, but also of the entire descending stage of the life cycle. In other words, the daily routine of older workers is herein treated only as the threshold of old age in which the basic direction of the changes in life style in old age can be discerned.

The most obvious shifts in the everyday behavior of older people and the aged are connected with the specific features of their age. Gradual reduction of physical energy inevitably increases the role of the restorative functions of the daily routine, rest acquires ever greater importance. Hence the noticeable increase in the time devoted to inactive rest among older workers (up to 5-6 hours per week, as opposed to 1-2 hours for parents) and the greater duration of sleep.

It is easy, too, to understand many of the changes in the cultural life of older workers: the disappearance in old age of organized evening and correspondence study, the decline in attending public performances. The increased role of physical rest in the daily routine is naturally combined with a further increase in the predominance of domestic forms of the consumption of culture. About 90 per cent of the time older people dedicate to culture is spent reading and watching television.

Paradoxes in the daily routine. Nevertheless, such observations, for all their obviousness (or rather, because of their obviousness) are trivial. It is important to attend to other, often unexpected, changes in the daily routine of older people.

In this connection, the character and scale of changes in the realm of imperative domestic obligations are of special interest and of the most social import. It would seem that the maturation of children (or the absence of children) would lead to a sharp reduction of housework and almost to the complete disappearance of time spent on care for children. Yet the actual duration, frequency and urgency of housework among older workers is just slightly less than among parents (see tables 4, 7, 8). And this reduction occurs chiefly among women, where the work load at the preceding, parental stage was clearly excessive, while among older men the duration of housework increases.

It is indicative that, for the most part, domestic concerns even among men (not to mention women) remain the same as for married men with minor children. And the persistence of a large volume of housework in the last stages of the life cycle is not directly connected with educational differences among the generations.

It is very significant, too, that lack of their own minor children does not at all mean that everyday activities with children disappear from the life of older workers. Care for grandchildren constitutes a substantial part of the time expenditures among older people. Among older working women, these activities attain an average of almost 3 hours a week, about one-third of the corresponding time expenditures of mothers.

These paradoxes, the failure of changes in the daily routine of older workers to correspond to simple logical schemata ("lack of children—reduction in obligations") are a manifestation of mores and stereotypes massively adhered to, stereotypes that assign to parents the responsibility not only to provide part of the everyday services for minor, but also for their adult children. For example, in the total time spent running the household in a family consisting of two older parents and two adult but unmarried children (a son and a daughter), the parents' share, according to the data of our study, is 70 per cent. This calculation is extremely crude, yet it illustrates the general unevenness of the distribution of family responsibilities quite clearly.

In extended families, older people are no less busy than the mother of the nuclear couple. Grandmothers, and sometimes grandfathers (even if they continue an active working life) do much more work in the home than is necessary simply to take care of themselves. Thanks to this, in extended families the work load of the nuclear couple is somewhat reduced and much work is done that in nuclear families remains undone.

Special features in social intercourse and the consumption of culture. Retention of a significant volume of housework and activities with children is far from being the only feature of time allocation reflecting the complexity of the changes connected with the transition from maturity to old age. Such "surprises" are typical of other aspects of vital activity,

too, in particular of social intercourse, participation in culture, and so on. It is worth noting in this respect that, despite the increase of domestic forms of consuming culture, the majority of older workers are more active in extrafamilial social intercourse than mature workers.

For women, this is apparent in the increase of time allotted directly to extrafamilial social intercourse (4-5 hours a week as against 2-3 hours for mothers with minor children). The most important and prolonged variety of this activity remains, as before, visiting and entertaining.

For older male workers, total time spent in all types of social intercourse is no greater than before; the activation of social intercourse takes other forms for them. Older male workers, like youth but as distinct from fathers, meet their friends more often on the street than at home; the average duration of visiting at home is for them absolutely and relatively less than in the preceding stage of life. Extrafamilial social intercourse assumes a predominantly non-domestic and in a certain sense quasi-youthful character; this deserves serious attention, for the pull to the street, to broader and more flexible social intercourse, is a feature of "pre-old age" in which the norms of old age are felt with special force. The increased pull to free social intercourse even before retirement shows that this pull is associated not only with reduced employment (which is how the street activity of retirees is usually explained), but is rooted in part in the very socio-psychological nature of old age.

Interesting tendencies also appear from the analysis of data on time spent on the consumption of spiritual culture. Some tendencies in the realm of cultural activity of older people, specifically the further increase in its domestic orientation, are quite understandable and cause no surprise. At the same time, such a domestic cultural activity as reading belles lettres is reduced. In effect, older workers are that age group in our sample that is farthest from books. Approximately three-fourths of the older people surveyed (78 per cent of women, 79 per cent of men) had not read a single book in the month preceding the survey. The case of magazines is a little better, but only 50-60 per cent of the senior family-age group read them regularly (as against 70-

80 per cent at the central stage of the life cycle and 80-90 per cent among youth).

Of course, this situation can to a certain extent be explained by the poorer schooling of the older generations of workers. It is worth noting, however, that a drop in the duration of reading is clearly observed even in a comparison of family-age groups of equal education: older people read less than people of middle age or youth even when all have an identical education (see Table 5). Aging, like the transition from youth to maturity, is a special, independent factor that influences reading irrespective of education.

There is, nevertheless, one type of reading the duration of which for older workers is on the whole greater than for other groups: they read newspapers more diligently. Older men, for example, read newspapers at an average of 3 hours per week, which is noticeably longer than in other family-age groups.

In the period of "pre-old age", as at the central stage of the life cycle, television is very important. For older people, the most noteworthy thing is that the television replaces newspapers in a special way. A separate study of owners of televisions shows that, for this group, aging is attended by a reduction in the amount of newspaper reading (to approximately 2 hours a week as against 2.5 hours for fathers). Instead, time spent watching television increases. For older men in families with televisions, it reaches 15-16 hours per week, for women—8 hours (as against 11-12 hours and 6 hours respectively at the preceding stage of the life cycle). Older workers whose families do not own a television account for the entire growth of the indices for the duration of newspaper reading among older people as a whole.

In other words, a normal feature in the transition from maturity to old age is a reduction in reading books and magazines—not in combination with increased reading of newspapers and watching television, but in combination with increased interest either in newspapers or in television (the two being, in this case, mutually exclusive). The ability of the television to substitute for newspapers evidently means that older people have much in common in their attitude to these mass media (while their attitude to books is essentially different).

In connection with this, it is important to stress that newspapers and many television programs are primarily sources of current information and everyday news that do not so much affect the basis of personality as satisfy the interest of the already formed individual in current phenomena and events. Books, on the other hand, contain more fundamental information, and in them an element of "higher culture" is more perceptible. It is natural to suppose that many older people, whose fundamental ideas, spiritual orientation and world view have long since taken shape and perhaps even ossified, have more interest in current, operative information. In most cases, the search for "the meaning of life" is typical of youth; in old age, the individual is more likely to feel the need for support and confirmation of concepts already assimilated. Youth learns, old age preaches.

Naturally, such psychological features should not be taken to mean that there is an ideological gap between generations. The moral and political unity of Soviet society is assured by the unity of the world view of the "fathers" and "sons". However, within the framework of a single world view, each age group has a characteristic perception of the world and a specific structure of everyday interests. In its everyday, psychological sense, the conservatism of old age (like youth's bent for the new) is an undoubted social fact, or, if you prefer, an eternal reality of human society, a reality that is both objectively founded and necessary for the normal functioning of society. Unless this fact is taken into account, one can neither understand nor control social reality.

Attention to the everyday cultural and psychological specifics of the generations is especially important under socialism. In socialist society, contradictions and differences between the generations are of a non-antagonistic character, so collaboration, contact and mutual support among generations can (and in fact does) attain a scope inconceivable under the rule of private property morality.

Conflict or co-operation of generations? In our opinion, it is the concept of the co-operation of generations that permits correct evaluation of many of the features of the generations' interaction in the daily routine. We should recall, for example, the active participation of older people

in housework and care for children. This circumstance violates what at first glance would appear to be the "natural" distribution of obligations, according to which the extent of housework in youth and advanced years should be determined by the need to take care of oneself and in mature years also by the need to provide services for children. In present-day urban life, some domestic burdens are transferred from the earlier to later stages of the life cycle, so that obligations ensuing from one family-age status are to a certain extent laid on the shoulders of those who have already passed through that status.

Such transference is often viewed as a manifestation of contradictions specific to family life, as a sort of socio-familial injustice. In fact, however, the matter is much more complicated.

Under present conditions, the time needed for general educational level and initial mastery of labor skills has grown sharply. In contrast to the situation existing two or three generations ago, completion of these processes no longer coincides with entering adulthood; in the working milieu, they are not even finished with the beginning of one's independent working life. It will be recalled that about 40 per cent of the working youth surveyed combine work and study. The amount of time that must be spent on labor and cultural socialization is today incomparably greater than in the past.

The range of social functions of mothers has expanded even more sharply. The extensive employment of women in production alone has at least doubled women's imperative obligations. Of course, this process is the basis for the sociopolitical and cultural emancipation of women, but it has increased their total work load in the years when children are being raised. The development of the service sector has as yet far from compensated for the consequences of this process.

Under such circumstances, the partial redistribution of housework and family concerns, their disproportionate concentration in the latter stages of life, signifies an equalization of the social work load as a whole, the elimination of its extreme peaks and imbalances. If we ignore manifestations of egoism and pride that are, in a sociological sense,

particular, we have a picture not of conflict, but of co-operation and mutual aid among generations. The need to equalize the total amount of social obligations at different periods of life is the fundamental, objective reason for the persistence of significant family obligations among older people. Moreover, it is reinforced by a number of other circumstances. Socio-psychological factors determining the mutual relations of parents and adult children play an important role, as do many of the psychological traits of older people. But in the course of sociological description proper, it is important to stress that these phenomena do not, in the final analysis, have an independent role. They are not reasons for but conditions under which family obligations are redistributed, a socio-psychological mechanism that helps a profound social need make its way to the surface of social life and become a reality of everyday human activity.

Understanding the connection between the increased social work load in the first half of life and the persistence of a high rate of family and domestic activity in the second makes it possible to advance some suppositions about the future.

Under socialism, the role of older and aged people in the realm of domestic obligations, family services and rearing children may within the next few decades become more noticeable than at present. The development of the scientific and technological revolution, which calls for an increase in the necessary minimum of knowledge and repeated alterations in professions, will extend the period of education. Moreover, education is likely to become a permanent process, so that widespread combination of work and study will be typical not only of youth, but also of people in the mature years of their life. Mothers, and in part fathers, will have to shoulder not a dual but a triple complex of obligations. Most likely, these factors will provoke new changes in socio-familial relations, changes that will probably include further shifts in the distribution of housework by age.

An extension of the life-span, progress in medicine and the general improvement of national well-being in the Soviet Union will mean that the weight of older people and the aged in the total adult population will be greater and that the health and physical condition of people of older ages will be

better. On the other hand, improving the system of services will substantially ease domestic concerns. It is, therefore, quite possible that we are on the eve of a radical change in mores and traditions, a change that will promote a redistribution of family obligations, the transfer of many obligations in raising children from parents to grandparents. One cannot alter the child-bearing age, but one can transfer the care for the upbringing of children from one stage of the life cycle to another.

Of course, there are a number of circumstances hindering the development of this tendency, for example, the increased weight of nuclear families, consisting only of parents and minor children. However, the separation of adult spouses from their parents' families does not necessarily mean that different generations cannot raise children jointly. The opinions of workers on the living arrangements most convenient for them are of extraordinary interest in this connection. Conducted in several towns, these surveys showed that the overwhelming majority of urbanites prefer to live apart from their parents; but at the same time, most want to live in close proximity with their parents or adult children—in a neighboring apartment building, or in a neighboring apartment.

It is of course naive to suppose that the adaptation of the social mechanism to the greater complexity of the social functions of youth and maturity will be connected with only one type of change in the daily routine. In general, social problems, at least medium-range socio-familial problems, rarely have simple resolutions. These resolutions are much more often reached through a complex interaction of many tendencies. One would think, however, that the further strengthening of the mutual co-operation of the generations will play not the least important role.

CHAPTER NINE

GROUPS DIFFERENTIATED BY THEIR INCOME AND BY POSSESSION OF MATERIAL GOODS

Description of the time allocation of groups differentiated by per capita income cannot, within the limits of our study, be as detailed as the description of the specific features of individual stages of the life cycle. This stems from the very social nature of the economic differences within the working class.

In a comparatively homogeneous social milieu (and this applies to the stratum of urban workers under socialism), such differences cannot be very broad. It is natural that they should have much less influence on everyday behavior than stages of the life cycle. It should be recalled that differences in time allocation among groups of workers differentiated by level of family income account for only 5-10 per cent of the maximum differences, while differences between family-age groups account for 15-20 per cent.

Moreover—and this is even more important—changes in per capita income affect behavior quite differently than does the transition from one stage of the life cycle to another. The differences in economic situation that are characteristic of urban workers in Soviet society do not and cannot provoke alterations in the basic functions of the daily routine, while change in family-age status does do so. In the given case, it is not the functions of and roles in daily life that change, but the conditions of behavior, the conditions in which the basic roles are played—family, work, cultural, and so on.¹

¹ In Soviet society, differences in income do not generally create conditions for changes in social roles. (That differences in work and

While the stages of the life cycle engender clearly delimited functional and role groups, economic differences within the working class are connected with much less clear, more diffuse divisions in the daily routine. It is a matter of course that the uniformity of the behavior within such "elusive" groups and the typological character of such groups are much less pronounced than in family-age formations. Hence the need for a somewhat different approach in examining them. Principal attention must be turned not to description of individual groups (as was the case with the different stages of the life cycle), but to comparing them, to isolating the approximate nature of the changes in the daily routine of urban workers that stem from an increase in material well-being.

It must be stressed that analysis of the dependence of everyday behavior on economic factors at least in general terms has, nevertheless, great import for understanding the laws of the daily routine. In contrast to the life cycle, the economic conditions of daily life are relatively amenable to purposeful action by society. Correspondingly, while studying the characteristics of behavior at different stages of the life cycle highlights the problems facing society in the realm of the daily routine, analysis of changes occurring in the daily routine as a result of an increase in material well-being (or, on the contrary, lack of such changes) helps us to tackle new problems that arise. On a practical plane, analysis of the connection between material situation and the behavior of urban workers is even more important for influencing mode of life than analysis of time allocation by family-age groups.

1. INCOME GROUPS

Traditional conceptions. Among the indices pertaining to material and economic factors in the environment, data on a family's per capita income is usually considered to be

family roles may be connected with different incomes is another matter.) In bourgeois society, on the contrary, wealth and poverty in and of themselves change the whole character of behavior and form the preconditions from which stem the social roles of the rich and the poor.

practically the most important. It seems natural to suppose that the level of per capita income influences substantially the allocation of time in the daily routine. In any case, many students of time budgets stress this sort of dependency. Housework, in their opinion, is a singular substitute for monetary income. The lower the income, the more time that must be spent on household chores in order that this, so to say, natural form make up for monetary inadequacies. The duration of housework, in turn, affects the magnitude of leisure and all other types of everyday use of time. And on the other hand, a high income facilitates the enjoyment of services, reduces the urgency of housework and frees time for use in "more elevated activity".

At first glance, our materials seem to support this conclusion. Simple comparison of data on time expenditures by groups of workers differentiated by level of per capita income in the family shows a clear connection between income and time allocation (see Table 9). The difference between the two terminal groups is especially striking. Among families that are less well-off (those with a monthly income of less than 50 rubles per capita), the average figures for housework are quite substantial—about 4-5 hours per day for women and almost 2 hours for men; all other types of everyday activity, particularly extrafamilial social intercourse and participation in culture, are relatively limited, and are for women reduced to an extreme minimum (an average of less than 1.5 hours per day, even including days off). On the other hand, among workers whose pay provides a relatively high income (more than 75 rubles per capita per month), housework absorbs much less time and energy. Even for women in this group, housework does not reach extreme proportions. Activities connected with leisure, entertainment, social intercourse, and consumption of spiritual values occupy first place in this group. The intermediate nature of time use by people with average income (per capita income of 50-75 rubles per month) also sets off the connection between increased income and the permeation of the daily routine by culture, the liberation of women from the burdens of housework, and so on.

The clarity of this connection, the simplicity of its logical foundation (the more income, the less the need for "natural"

forms of family services) inspires the comforting thought that the daily routine will improve more or less spontaneously in proportion to the increase of national welfare. This conclusion is the more tempting because it promises constant improvement in life style through extraordinarily simple methods. If increased income in and of itself leads to all-around progress in the daily routine, then increasing wages can be viewed not only as one of a number of measures, but as the only necessary and sufficient, exhaustive means for improving the life style of workers. Unfortunately, in social relations it is far from the case that the simple solution is always correct.

We have said before that, in Soviet society, per capita income, especially in the working milieu, depends on size of family as much as on wages, and family size as a rule changes from one stage of the life cycle to another. It should be recalled that, among workers whose families have low per capita incomes, a large proportion is made up of fathers and mothers with large families, while youth and older people predominate in the group with high per capita income. This circumstance often leads to a situation where peculiarities of behavior conditioned by family-age status appear in the guise of differences connected with unequal income. In examining individual types of time allocation—the items in the daily routine—we often met such “false” types of connection.

Such, for example, is the connection of income with time spent with children (an average of about 6 hours per week in the group with an income of less than 50 rubles a month, and only 1.5-2 hours in the group with the highest income). Of course, there is no rational explanation for a direct connection between increased income and a reduction in time spent with children (as opposed to housework, where such an explanation seems to make good common sense). That this tendency cannot be interpreted logically raises questions about the whole concept of the direct influence of income on everyday behavior and makes it necessary to compare time expenditures among groups with different incomes within a single family-age category.

From a comparison of groups with different incomes delimited in this way (see Table 10), it is clear that in-

creased income by itself helps to reduce housework only among working women with minor children. Yet even for this group, doubling per capita income reduces housework by no more than 15-16 per cent—from 33-34 hours to 28-29 hours per week. This is only half of the reduction in household chores that was indicated by comparison of groups of working women from different income groups. The five hours per week liberated are clearly insufficient for a radical change in the structure of everyday behavior of working mothers.

The major difference in the time allocation of working mothers in families with high per capita incomes, besides reduction in housework, is a certain increase in time allotted to reading, television and study. Easing housework, i.e., in the final analysis the influence of income, can explain the greater intensity of reading and watching television, but combining work and study is very unlikely to depend on per capita income. We are probably dealing here with other, covert connections, for example the number of children in a family. In the low-income group, mothers with many children predominate, while in the high-income group mothers with one child predominate. This is reflected (though only slightly) in the reduction of time spent with children among mothers in families with the highest per capita income (from an average of 9 to an average of 7-8 hours per week).

As is apparent, even among mothers time allocation changes little under the influence of extra income. And this is the only category examined where this factor without a doubt makes itself felt.

The everyday behavior of the other groups represented in Table 10 (fathers, young men, young women) is hardly affected by the level of per capita income. While it is true that men at the central stage of the life cycle devote successively greater amounts of time to study, public entertainment and amateur activities as they move from lower- to higher-income groups, this increase is attained not so much as a result of reduced housework as from reduced time spent with children. As with mothers, the decisive role is played not by income but by the number of children in the family.

The connection between income and time allocation is even less perceptible among young men and women. Domestic concerns in general little affect working youth, and in any case the extent of such concerns rarely depends on family income. The indefinite fluctuations in the figures speak of the influence of other factors entirely—family traditions, specific features in upbringing, etc.—which are distributed at random among different income groups.

The only peculiarity of the behavior of working youth that is perhaps affected by level of income is the fact that, in the daily routine of youths from low-income families, the role of domestic intercourse with friends is small. Average time spent visiting and entertaining among them is less than an hour per week, while for young workers from families with higher incomes the figures are 3-4 hours per week. In other words, in the more well-off families, from one-third to one-half of social intercourse has a domestic character; among young people from low-income families, social intercourse in public is absolutely dominant—domestic social intercourse accounts for only 10-15 per cent of time spent with friends outside work.

Thus, examination of time expenditures in groups from the same stage of the life cycle leads to a conclusion quite different from the above-mentioned assumptions of a simple connection between income and time allocation. In the working milieu, a change in per capita income—one of the basic indices of well-being—has by itself but a weak affect on the individual's everyday behavior, his time allocation and mode of life.

There are weighty reasons for considering this state of affairs quite natural and inevitable. Above all, we should once more recall that we are not treating an abstract connection between behavior and income in general, but the connection between behavior and relatively small changes in per capita income. Within a single social stratum, it cannot be otherwise: the socialist wage system presupposes an absence of extreme wage differentials, and the relative cultural homogeneity of the milieu studied limits income variation even further.

Moreover, differentiation in monetary income is further effaced by the extremely democratic organization of local-

communal services and cultural institutions in Soviet society. The system of social funds and the price policy under socialism provide many free services; payment for most others is adjusted to minimum incomes. In sum, the real accessibility of the basic types of service does not to any essential degree depend on income.

In their daily routine, working families with low incomes have in practice the opportunity to enjoy approximately the same services as families with high incomes. In this sense, additional income does not yield that saving of time that occurs in societies where the price of services is high.

Among other things, the low cost of many services in comparison with most articles of consumption explains the unequal effect of the differentiation of income in the area of time allocation and in the realm of material consumption.

Dependence of behavior on income. The fact that the structure of time allocations is relatively independent of the level of income reflects one of the remarkable features of the mode of life of the Soviet working class and of all working people of the USSR. This state of affairs testifies to the profound, practical democratization of socialist society, in which some goods are already being distributed independently of income. This social phenomenon reflects the natural process of the gradual overcoming of the remnants of that type of inequality that is still characteristic of socialism and will completely disappear with the victory of communism.

But we should not forget that, in this connection, society is faced with quite difficult problems, the understanding and solution of which is a necessary prerequisite for the conscious improvement of social relations. Specifically, it is important to recognize clearly the contradiction stemming from the lack of a connection between everyday behavior and income.

On the one hand, actual equality in the enjoyment of services meets the demands of social justice. But on the other hand, it inevitably reduces the effectiveness of the stimulation by wages in production. Additional pay increases consumption of goods, but is little felt in the enjoyment of services and in time allocation.

In itself, this contradiction is quite natural. In effect, it is a particular manifestation of the non-antagonistic contradiction, characteristic of socialism, between the communist ideal of society and real potential, between ideals and their embodiment at any given moment. So we are not talking about an immediate and complete liquidation of the distribution of services independently of income and of a need to use material incentives as a basic lever for raising the efficiency of the socialist economic system. The problem consists in determining the proper proportions of the two principles and in delimiting the spheres of their application.

Specifically, with respect to our data the question arises: does the present, almost always reasonable, cost of everyday services, which to a great extent determine the time spent on housework and the nature of entertainment, correspond to the present level of economic development of Soviet society? Isn't it necessary to adjust the price of some types of services—say, for housing and some branches of medical service—so that they reflect more accurately their real cost? Wouldn't the incentive power of wages increase (and in the final analysis, the national wealth, too) in connection with this, and wouldn't this be of more benefit, including for the low-paid groups of the population, than the current method of distributing socio-cultural services?

In fact, life not infrequently amends the existing system of distributing goods connected with the service system. The practice of providing living quarters through enterprises and institutions takes into account the individual's labor activity (as distinct from the allocation of housing through local Soviets, where the principal criterion is need). Also, many departments and major enterprises have their own systems of improved medical, communal and other services, and so on. Enjoyment of these goods is nothing other than a form of supplementary reward that stimulates labor.

In this regard, funds to provide material incentive, for socio-cultural measures and for housing construction are especially important. Such funds are being formed at enterprises in accordance with new conditions of economic plan-

ning and economic incentives. In recent years, such funds have grown six times over (from 2.6 billion rubles in 1965 to 17.2 billion rubles in 1971).

In other words, socio-economic practice makes the distribution of some services—and, consequently, many time allocations—dependent on the quantity and quality of a worker's labor. But this dependence often has a, so to speak, natural form, not mediated by wages and monetary income. Is this the best way to link the worker's labor contribution to the share of services he enjoys? Would not society obtain more economic and social benefit by moving to a system under which the volume and quality of services were more closely connected with their true cost, so that all material incentives could be realized in a monetary form, without resorting to "natural" supplements in the realm of services? We are not here trying to answer these questions. An answer to them cannot be found within the framework of the sociology of the daily routine alone; the answers must be sought primarily in the realm of economic and production relationships. But our study leads of necessity to the framing of such questions.

2. TELEVISION OWNERS AND THE SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THEIR DAILY ROUTINE

Among the elements of the material side of the daily routine, one must mention—especially because they are becoming increasingly common—those that directly influence wants and spiritual life and thus influence behavior quite differently. We are referring to things, facilities, objects, and organizations that constitute the material basis of the consumption of cultural values and free activity in general.

Especially indicative in this respect are objects and organizations connected with the mass media: televisions and the television system, radios and radio broadcasting, books and libraries, movie theaters and film rental organizations, and much else besides. Their development and the simple expansion of their accessibility directly affects needs and, to a certain degree, the state of social consciousness.

In the modern city, there is almost no form of cultural life that is at all developed that is not connected with a specific material base. Specifically, the mass media permeate the whole life of the modern urbanite, constituting, within the framework of present-day culture, just as necessary a condition of his existence as housing, clothing, transport, etc. The importance of the mass media is now so great that their presence or absence—or the degree of their accessibility—gives rise to groups different in important features of their behavior. For the first time in history, groups are forming within the traditional economic groups according to their proximity to means of mass information. In studying the mode of life today, one must speak not only of people of different incomes, but also of families with or without televisions, cars, in general one or another set of “the cultural items”.

As an example of the way in which differences in the property base of culture affect the mode of life, we will examine the changes that ensue in a working family with the acquisition of a television.

It is quite obvious that the effect of television is felt first and most of all in its own sphere: acquisition of a television set leads to an abrupt—multiple—increase in the time spent watching television,¹ which becomes one of the activities consuming the most time in the daily life of workers with televisions, especially among mature and older people.

However, the enormous importance of this activity has been examined in detail in preceding chapters. Analyzing the gross time expenditures of owners of televisions will yield nothing new. But separating them into a special group is interesting in another respect—it shows that a television not only leads to watching television, but quite visibly affects time allocation as a whole. So it should be, for the very fact of the appearance of a new activity absorbing 5-10 hours a week, i.e., 10-20 per cent of all elastic expen-

¹ In historical perspective, the appearance of a television doesn't increase but gives birth to television watching. Today, however, when televisions are owned on a wide scale, but are not yet universal, one speaks of an increase, for even people without televisions of their own spend some time watching.

ditures of time, necessarily supposes a change in many other aspects of the daily routine, above all a constraint, a limitation on some other time expenditures.

The constraining action of television viewing is clearest in types of vital activity connected with the consumption of culture. Many such activities, particularly reading and attending public performances, are in some of their functions close to television—so it is not surprising that owners of televisions go to movies less often and allot less time to reading than people who have no televisions. For youth, television especially reduces time spent at public performances, among married people—time spent reading. Of course, even with the appearance of television, the role of public performances remains much greater for youth than for married or older people. But television somewhat reduces this difference in the everyday behavior of the family-age groups.

TV—friend or enemy? Television-linked reduction of time spent reading or at public performances is not infrequently viewed as a sign of a certain lowering of culture, if not its complete degradation. Authors who try to make out as one of the advantages of the Soviet mode of life the fact that working people in the USSR spend much less time on the average watching television than most Americans, in effect share this view, though perhaps not always consciously. (We should note that such a comparison is not very conclusive, since it does not take into account differing levels of television ownership and the length of time that society has experienced the influence of television.)

We have already had occasion to say that the idea that level of everyday culture is lowered through a reduction of time spent reading and at public performances oversimplifies complex and incommensurate processes. In the first place, the constraining effect of television has limits. In the urban working milieu, television usually reduces the duration of reading or public entertainment by no more than half an hour to an hour a week, and in most cases does not at all lead to the disappearance of books and movies from everyday life. Moreover, the gradual increase in the level of education further limits the "expansion" of television. Strictly speaking, television does not oust, it limits.

Second, while taking time from traditional, relatively old forms of acquisition of culture, television provides a new channel for the mass dissemination of spiritual values and information in general. And because it is graphic and domestically accessible, television is especially attractive. Time allotted to television in families with TV sets far surpasses the reduction in reading and public entertainment. In sum, with the advent of television, the total duration of use of the modern means of culture not only is not reduced but, as a rule, noticeably increases.

Nevertheless, unqualified claims of the benefits of TV are just as oversimplified as lamentations of the "decline" of reading or public performances. The rush to bring television into the daily routine engenders definite difficulties and contradictions.

Mass television as a specific branch of culture is still extremely young. In the Soviet Union, its history is only one or two decades old. The fact that television is today at its initial stage of development cannot but make itself felt in the general quality of cultural information communicated to the viewer. Naturally, every source provides cultural information of different value. Books provide the reader with the great creations of the human spirit, but they can also be of very low quality; there is both low and high quality art on stage and screen. However, old, established forms of cultural life have historically developed techniques and traditions for selecting genuine spiritual values and bringing them to reader or viewer. Television, because of its youth, is just developing these techniques. It is safe to assume that the proportion of elements of high culture to elements of alloyed, simplified, even pseudo-culture is, in the general flow of television information, often worse than in literature, journalism, cinematography and theater. Television, at the present, initial stage of its development, is at times a source of less valuable, less substantial, more second-rate culture than the traditional forms of contact with culture. There is no question that this lag, a sort of "children's disease", is of a temporary nature. However, while this situation continues, the growing role of television will mean a somewhat reduced level of everyday cultural life. Today, television expands the area of culture in daily life,

it increases the *quantity* of everyday cultural nourishment, but at the initial stage of its development it inevitably reduces its *quality*.

Of course, all this is supposition. Precise and thorough knowledge of such phenomena can only be provided by special socio-psychological studies; furthermore, time is needed before the consequences of television's growing role can be fully felt. However, a change in the nature of cultural life as a result of shifts in the ratio of concrete (depictive) and abstract (symbolic) forms of information is quite inevitable.

Influence on mode of life. A restructuring of everyday cultural life is a first consequence to be expected from the appearance of television in the daily routine of workers. But this restructuring will not be limited to changes in time allocation. Demands stimulated by the appearance of television immediately become so insistent that they displace not only related activities in the realm of culture but also completely different types of time allocation.

Strictly speaking, it is here that we first observe how television leads to a redistribution of time among the basic types of activity. Instances of the incursion of TV into other areas of everyday behavior not connected with culture that have so far been examined depict not so much a redistribution of time as the extension of television into free, unemployed areas of "the time universe".

Apparently, the introduction of television into the daily routine arouses so strong a demand, so insistent a desire to watch it that to obtain satisfaction man forgoes other needs, at times including so-called imperative obligations. We should note that this situation once more—and moreover quite graphically—confirms the relativity of the juxtaposition of imperative obligations and leisure, of which we spoke in Part I. As is evident, watching television, which is clearly connected with leisure, often becomes a more urgent activity than many types of housework.

We should in summarizing attempt to avoid extremes. As has been seen, changes in the daily routine that stem from the appearance of the family television have a truly radical character only in the realm of culture, i.e., in the television's own realm. Other activities either do not change for

all groups (activities such as social intercourse and sports), or change within narrow limits. For example, the duration of housework, sleep, and non-working time connected with production is reduced for owners of televisions by no more than 5-10 per cent.

But for all these qualifications, it is obvious that television leads to many-sided (though not identical) and quite noticeable changes in the mode of life of urban workers. With television one can affect daily behavior just as strongly as by altering any of the traditional material and economic factors.

We should remember, however, that the materials of our study allow us to judge only the initial, preliminary consequences of the comparatively short existence of television. In our sample, approximately two-thirds had televisions; 7 or 8 years before our survey, there were fewer than 2.5 million televisions in Soviet cities, i.e., about one for every 10 families. In 1971, three-fourths of Soviet families had televisions. In the very near future, not just a majority, but almost all urban families will have television sets. For most of the population, television will change from a relatively new activity (as was the case at the time of our study) into a customary activity; for youth, it will become an "ordinary" phenomenon, attendant on man throughout his life. It is more than probable that under these conditions, television will be the cause of additional, perhaps completely unexpected, shifts in the daily routine.

In connection with the study of time allocation, it is important to remember that in the 1970s the automobile will enter the daily routine of an enormous number of people. Over the 15 years (1955-70), about 3 million passenger cars were built in the USSR. In the near future, annual production should exceed 1.2-1.3 million. This means that in 10-15 years, there will be no less than 15-20 million passenger cars, i.e., one automobile for every 4 to 5 families. If we posit a further rapid expansion of production, the actual number of automobiles will be even greater.

There is no doubt that the car as an object of mass use will be felt in all aspects of everyday behavior. The role of private cars can in no way be limited to a reduction in

travel time. Like the television, the family car will stimulate the birth or development of a number of activities, will lead to a change in habits and traditions and, in the final analysis, will change the psychology of millions of people. Having entered daily life, the automobile will cease to be only "a means of travel"; it will become a means for transforming daily life, or, if you prefer, a tool of domestic revolution.

CHAPTER TEN

CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

1. CULTURE IN THE SYSTEM OF LIVING CONDITIONS

In the system of immediate conditions of the daily routine, cultural factors have an important place: the knowledge, mores, traditions, norms and models of behavior that exist in society and are internalized by individuals, social groups and society as a whole.

Cultural factors play a dual role in the social mechanism that determines one's way of life. Above all, the elements of culture mediate, as it were, the influence of all the other conditions of life. This mediating role is evident in materials dealt with in preceding sections. It is obvious, for example, that the transition from one stage of the life cycle to another leads to a change in social roles and behavior inasmuch as there are generally accepted norms that require carrying on different activities in different family-age groups. (Of course, these norms, in turn, would not exist if the objective functions of each stage of the life cycle didn't give rise to needs for different forms of behavior.)

Moreover, different levels of culture can and do exist under identical material, production and socio-demographic conditions. So, too, do people and groups whose behavior is determined by different levels of knowledge, norms, models, etc. In describing the individual aspects of everyday behavior, we almost always called attention to the independent influence of culture on individual items in the daily routine. It is now incumbent upon us to examine how cultural factors influence time allocation as a whole and what the

particular features of the daily routine are among groups of workers differentiated by culture.

Culture and educational groups. First, in this section we will use only one of the many indices of culture—data on the workers' education. Accordingly, we will examine only one type of the cultural groups in the working milieu—educational groups.

Strictly speaking, these groups illustrate the relationship of the daily routine not with culture in general, but only with some of aspects of culture. Formally, only the dependence of behavior on the level of knowledge and interests, concepts and values derived is therein reflected. However, the elements and aspects of culture are quite closely intertwined. Increased education in most cases elicits changes in the framework and ideals with which one lives, and it fosters different models of behavior. In this sense, one may say that workers with differing educational backgrounds constitute not simply educational, but cultural-educational groups.

Many of the reservations made earlier with respect to income groups apply equally to analysis of cultural-educational groups. Among urban workers there are fewer differences in educational background than there are in society as a whole. Moreover, the mean indices for everyday behavior of workers with different educations, like the indices for income groups, differ rather less clearly than those revealing changes from one stage of the life cycle to another. (We would point out again that the difference in time expenditures of average representatives of proximate educational groups does not exceed a maximum of 10 per cent.) In other words, cultural-educational groups in the working milieu, like the economic groups, sooner provide grounds for defining general tendencies than for detailed description of individual cultural types.

On the other hand, the mechanism connecting cultural (including educational) factors with everyday behavior reminds more the action of changes in family-age status. To a certain extent, changes in the workers' culture alter functions in the daily routine and standards and models of behavior. The level of education is, in its own right, a role-forming factor. The social environment makes different

demands on people of different educations, expects different kinds of behavior both on and off the job and thus compels people to play different socio-familial roles.¹ The functional, role-determining nature of culture, as we shall see, clarifies many of the particulars of the behavior of educational groups and their differences from income groups.

As mentioned earlier, in our sample there are four cultural-educational groups: 1) semi-literate and literate workers who have completed only the first stages of education (4 grades or less); 2) workers with an elementary education (5-7 grades), i.e., adequately educated workers; 3) well-educated workers (8-10 grades); 4) highly educated workers and worker-specialists (workers with specialized secondary, incomplete higher or higher education). Comparison of the mean data on time expenditures for these categories presents a general picture of the daily behavior of the basic cultural-educational groups in the working milieu (see Table 13).

The consequences of changes in education are often inherent in changes that ensue from aging. Comparison of cultural-educational groups within the same stage of the life cycle provides a significantly more precise picture of the influence of education (see Table 14). Due to the limited nature of the sample, we shall examine educational groups only within the limits of the more numerous family-age groups—youths and workers with minor children.

2. WORKERS WITH MINIMAL EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

The series of cultural-educational groups among urban workers begins with workers who have completed only the first stages of elementary education. They account for 15-

¹ It is to be understood that cultural-educational factors also have an especially strong indirect influence, for they determine to a significant extent the individual's professional status. However, since we are concerned only with behavior in the daily routine of urban industrial workers—persons who in principle have the same social status—the indirect influences are for the most part outside the province with which we are dealing.

20 per cent of our sample; in the near future—within 5-10 years—the weight of this group will be reduced to a minimum because the most poorly educated workers are those approaching retirement age.

Nevertheless, this group helps us to understand the influence education has on the everyday behavior of urban workers. Insofar as virtually no persons who have never attended school live in the contemporary Soviet city, workers who have finished 3 or 4 grades make up the only category that allows us to highlight a daily routine that has not yet been exposed to the direct influence of modern education, that is, so to speak, "under-educated" forms of everyday life. A precise description of this group's daily routine provides, in a way, a clarification of the peculiarities of the daily routine of all the other cultural-educational groups and is necessary to an understanding of the tremendous achievements of the cultural revolution in the USSR.

Actually, careful analysis of tables 13 through 16 plus data on the frequency of certain activities taking place over a fairly long period of time—activities analyzed in the discussion of the items of the daily routine—show that time allocations of poorly educated persons differ substantially from those of the majority of urban workers. The daily routine of the least educated workers rests in many respects on different bases than that of the most urban workers.

The daily routine of women. The special features of the "under-educated" everyday life appear most fully and consistently in the time allocations of women with a minimal education. The first thing one notices in analyzing the time expenditures of this group is the extremely poor development of activities associated with modern culture. This is especially apparent among poorly educated female workers who have children. On the average, they watch television three to four times a week and only rarely—no more than once a month—go to movies.

As for the more complex aspects of everyday cultural life—reading, studying, amateur activity—they have an insignificant place in the daily routine of most poorly educated women. The majority hardly ever read books and only sporadically read magazines. In the month preceding our survey, 78 per cent of the poorly educated working women

interviewed had not read any books and 42 per cent had not read any magazines. During the year preceding the survey, 72 per cent had not once been to a theater, a concert, a museum or exhibition. Sports, amateur activities, etc., enter their daily routine only as rare exceptions.

For all this, most female workers with minimal education are more or less satisfied with their mode of life. In any case, the question here is not simply a lack of time—time of rest (just as sleeping time) is no less among under-educated female workers than among other groups. For young women with minimal education, i.e., the group in which idle time is least of all connected with physical tiredness, idle time is greater than that of most young women. It is significant that semi-literate female workers, even those not burdened with a family, do not wish to continue studying. Among our subjects in this group, only one per cent combine studies with work. Research in Taganrog showed that even when working hours were shortened, only four per cent of female workers who had not completed 4 grades wanted to continue their education.

To understand the essence of the "under-educated" mode of life, it is important to clarify the role of housework and caring for family. Housework, especially among women with families, takes predominance over all other aspects of everyday activity. Mothers in the lowest educational group spend 4 to 5 hours a day on weekdays and 7 to 8 hours a day on weekends doing housework. Only this group of women spends so much time on housework—20 per cent more time than well-educated women of the same family status and almost 1.5 times more than female workers with specialized education. Such intensity in housework marks the daily lives not of all mothers in general, but of the least educated women.

Despite the enormous amount of time devoted to housework, most working women with minimal education would like to spend still more time doing housework. Approximately 90 per cent of the women in this group, in answering the question as to what they would do if they had more free time, stated that they would spend more time on housework, gardening, etc. In the other groups responding to this question, the percentage of women who would like more time for housework was noticeably lower—60-80 per cent. The amount

of housework time that these women think is needed to meet family needs is clearly greater than among working women with better formal education.

This situation stems in part from the external conditions in which the various educational groups are found. There is reason to believe that the average income of families of many poorly educated female workers is somewhat lower. However, the exaggerated amount of time devoted to housework cannot be explained solely or even for the most part by material circumstances. On the other hand, one can hardly believe that poorly educated women do more housework than others because their household demands are so much greater.

We suggest a different interpretation of the situation. Poorly educated working women feel a greater need for housework not so much because of external necessity as because of their own attitude toward housework, as a result of their own system of values. Apparently, there are more women in this group than in others who are interested in housework or at least who do not treat it as an unavoidable burden that keeps them from doing more interesting things, but as the natural activity of wives and mothers. Of course, the connection between this attitude and lack of modern education is far from as clear as it is in the case of books, newspapers, movies, theater, and television. It must be admitted that the connection between housework and education is rather intricate.

Two or three generations ago the notion that housework is one's main occupation was a generally accepted norm of behavior among tens of millions of people in the countryside. It would be an oversimplification to attribute constant activity simply to the material conditions of village life (though in the final analysis, that is the way things are). Over the course of centuries, the notion that constant activity was, except for holidays, the best use of time was affirmed in the patriarchal countryside and, in part, in towns.¹ This ideal was accepted by the overwhelming majority of peasants, so that the desire to fill all one's time, aside from sleeping and eating, with working at one thing or another

¹ We should stress that we are speaking here of "activity" as housework, gardening, and work in the fields.

was a motif defining normal behavior in common, everyday life. The inclination toward constant activity was, so to speak, a focus on activity that typified the behavior of peasants no less than did the material conditions of life.¹

We submit that the level of activity of poorly educated working women in housework, and their desire to allot still more time to housework, is a result of values that have been carried over from the patriarchal countryside. To a certain extent, the persistence of such ideas is simply due to the fact that, in the milieu of the less educated urban workers, there are more individuals who grew up in villages. On the other hand, inclinations toward constant activity originating in the village were widespread in many strata of the urban population. In the village today the patriarchal tradition is no longer universal. Today, the traditional village attitude toward housework is a property primarily of poorly educated working women—and not just women raised in villages. Modern education is a powerful factor in undermining patriarchal norms of everyday behavior. Lack of education or an inadequate level of education, on the other hand, preserves the values of the village way of life even in an urban setting. A poor education fosters the maintenance of pre-urban mores and in this sense is the reason for the exceptional amount of time that poorly educated women spend on housework.

The patriarchal, village duration of housework, together with the underdevelopment of modern urban forms of cultural life, reveals yet another aspect of the daily routine

¹ Lev Tolstoi, in whose works the characteristics of the patriarchal Russian peasantry appear with penetrating clarity, especially emphasized the particular nature of the peasant way of life. One line from his portrait of Platon Karatayev (who embodied, for Tolstoi, "everything round, Russian and good") comes to mind: "...He had only to lie down to at once fall asleep, to sleep like a rock; he had only to wake up to begin busying himself with some thing or other without a second's delay—just as children upon waking rush straight for their toys.... He was always busy and only late at night would allow himself the luxury of conversation, which he loved, or song." (L. N. Tolstoi, *War and Peace*, Vol. 4, Part I, Chapter XIII, in *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933, p. 49, in Russian.)

of poorly educated working women. Daily time allocations in this group are far less articulated than those of better-educated women. The monotony of the daily activities of women with little education is essentially a consequence of the special role that housework plays in their daily routine. Poorly educated women are not merely very busy with housework: in their weekday activities they are almost solely concerned with housework. For mothers in this group (about two-thirds of the sample), housework and caring for children took up approximately 80 per cent of their non-working time (apart from sleeping, eating, and time needed to travel to work). Relative monotony was characteristic, too, of the answers that women with little education working in Taganrog gave to the question of how they would use additional free time. Both in practice and as an ideal, the daily routine of poorly educated working women is built, so to speak, upon a smaller number of items than for all other groups of working women studied.

We do not wish to oversimplify the meaning of this monotony, of the lack of articulation of the behavior of women with minimal formal education. This is often viewed as the mark of a primitive, intellectually backward mode of life. Actually, such a situation speaks of a lack of development of elements of modern institutionalized culture, and nothing more. Beyond this, it serves as indirect evidence of the intensity of a pre-urban type of involvement with culture.

Traditional village (and not only village) life is not familiar with the distinct separation of individual forms of time allocation typical of the lives of most contemporary city dwellers. On weekdays, almost constant business, "doing things", underlies this weak articulation. But this business, this everyday labor, does not have quite the same meaning as housework. In the consciousness of the majority of present-day urbanites, the latter usually is juxtaposed to labor in social production that provides the individual with the means of existence, moral satisfaction, pride, a feeling of independence and often a field for the application of his creative abilities and for self-affirmation. In the old village, such a distinction simply did not exist. Labor in many respects was coupled with some form of diversion, with friendly contacts, with contact with culture. An enormous

number of vital activities that are today distinct and clearly delimited are realized in the village through work and against the background of work.

Of course the patriarchal unity of vital activities does not exist among poorly educated working women in a pure form; it persists as isolated manifestations eroded by the stream of modern urban life. However, the internal, genetic connection of their behavior with the uniform, traditional village way of life is unquestionable. In this sense, one may state that the lack of basic modern education preserves not only individual features, but the general nature, the general mode of women's life in pre-urban times.

The daily routine of men. The specific character of the daily routine of men with minimal education is likewise connected with their inability to make a radical break with patriarchal traditions and goals within the framework of an "under-educated" level of culture. However, the traditional forms of everyday behavior in male workers are not manifested directly (as they were among female workers) but in a distorted, convoluted aspect.

Superficially, one can see neither a daily routine filled with housework nor any exceptional brevity of activities connected with modern culture in the time allocations of men in the lowest educational group. Accordingly, it is also difficult to speak of any generally weak articulation of time expenditures. Nevertheless, traces of pre-urban origins are quite apparent in each of the types of activity among semi-literate male workers and, especially, in the interrelation of separate activities.

The duration of housework among the majority of males in this group does not exceed 10-12 hours a week, i.e., only about 25-30 per cent of their elastic time expenditures. However, the intensity of those types of domestic activity that are traditionally masculine in character and are part of the patriarchal division of labor is quite pronounced in this group. Poorly educated workers are the only group in which gardening, repairs, odd jobs, etc., consume most of the time spent on housework. They spend 55 per cent of their time on housework on these activities. Family men in this group spend 65 per cent of their time on such activities.

It is quite noteworthy, too, that the clear majority of poorly educated workers in Taganrog (70 per cent of this group), like their female counterparts, mentioned a desire to do more housework if extra time were available. In all the other educational categories, only a comparatively small percentage (15-30 per cent) desired to do more housework.

From the relatively small amount of time male workers allot to household labor, and from the significant amount of idle time (more than 4 hours per week) that they have, it seems that the widespread desire to use extra time for working at home does not testify to any real lack of time for housework. This fact in effect reflects a general mood in the everyday interests and desires of poorly educated male workers. In other words, not only women but many men, too, in the lowest education group preserve the typical pre-urban mode of life, which aims at persistent activity except on holidays. And because this attitude is genetically tied to the patriarchal village, it signifies a striving not for activity in general but for specific, traditionally masculine types of activity. However, it is such masculine forms of domestic activity that are possible only to a relatively small extent in the modern city. The service sector has developed in such a way that those branches that replace the work done by men in patriarchal economies have, at present, been developed most thoroughly. On the other hand, women's work in caring for the needs of the family must, unfortunately, still be performed directly by women.

In sum, a paradoxical situation has arisen: lack of education fosters preservation of an orientation toward physical business both among women and men. However, in fact it is only women who fill their non-working time with housework. So far as men with minimal education are concerned, the maintenance of patriarchal, village values is confronted with the impossibility of realizing traditional goals. For these men, the desire to do household labor every day, a specific feature of the pre-urban way of life, has not been overcome, but rather mechanically cut short.

This truncation of constant occupation is revealed in many other manifestations of the patriarchal heritage in the behavior of poorly educated workers. Time not filled

by work must be filled with something. In the everyday lives of poorly educated workers, there develop, therefore, activities that, generally speaking, are not peculiar to the traditional mode of life.

Activities connected with modern cultural life have expanded, but among poorly educated men this takes on the form almost exclusively of watching television and reading newspapers. The many specific types of cultural activity remain for them almost as limited as for poorly educated female workers. Entering into modern culture is reduced for the bulk of workers with little education to watching television 3 to 4 times a week (though for longer periods than working women of this group watch television), going to movies once or twice a month, and reading newspapers every day (an activity that clearly distinguishes the men from women in this group).

The men in this group, like the women, take part in very few other types of modern cultural activities: 67 per cent of the men had not read any books during the month preceding the survey; 42 per cent had not read any magazines, 70 per cent had not been to a theater, a concert, an exhibition, museum, etc. (see tables 20, 22). In short, despite the opportunities of modern cultural life, among poorly educated men it has the same underdeveloped, simplified nature as among women.

However, a certain cultural uplift among urban workers of the poorly educated strata does not mean that the pre-urban bases of their daily life have been transformed. Lack of education determines the maintenance of the traditional, village orientation which is now impossible to embody. Thus arise contradictions and an inorganic system of everyday behavior, in which persistence of patriarchal aspirations is combined with the development of some simplified, distorted features of urban time allocation. These features are determined by unavoidable external factors rather than by internal needs. Although the mode of life of the poorly educated male worker is not simply a continuation of the village way of life (as it is for many poorly educated women), it cannot be considered urban life in any real sense. It is instead a pseudo-urban daily routine.

Of course, even the mechanical truncation of the patriarchal pattern has, in the modern city, a certain progressive sense. On the whole, however, the development of pseudo-urban daily routine leads to very contradictory and, often, negative consequences. The contradiction between internal aspirations and the actual conditions of urban life makes the daily routine of many poorly educated men extremely unstable, socially disorganized and regressive—drinking and rowdiness are noted in this group much more often than in other strata.

In sum, then, the pseudo-urban daily routine of poorly educated men, despite the fact that many patriarchal forms of time allocation are truncated, to the benefit of progressive aspects of everyday behavior (more precisely, as a result of mechanical nature of this truncation), turns out to be a source of no less serious social problems than those caused by the direct carry-over of the vestiges of a pre-urban way of life.

3. ADEQUATELY AND WELL-EDUCATED WORKERS

A realistic picture of the influence of modern education upon the working milieu is presented by data on the behavior of workers who have received adequate and good education, i.e., workers who have completed 5 through 7 and 8 through 10 grades respectively. The majority of urban workers fall into these groups. (In our study, approximately three-fourths of the subjects had a 5-10-grade education, and of this group more than half of the men and slightly less than half the women had completed 8-10 grades.) Analysis of the time expenditures of these groups is important not only as a means for highlighting the tendencies resulting from education, but also because here one can see the influence of education on the daily routine most widespread in the working milieu.

Good formal education provides knowledge, habits, values, interest, and a type of consciousness that as a whole stimulate a need for modern forms of cultural life based on reading, public entertainment, radio and television, organized studies, special types of amateur activity, etc. Naturally,

with the growth of education, the day-to-day cultural life ceases to be merely a group of traditional, almost ritual elements of work and recreation; it is transformed into a system offering many independent, specialized and, to a significant extent, institutionalized activities clearly delimited from other types of everyday activity.

Of course, the development of mass formal education is only one manifestation, one link in an integral process. The other link is the changes in time expenditures connected with culture. However, though education is only one of many, and certainly not the most fundamental, prerequisites for changing everyday cultural life, education plays an exceptionally important role among the direct, immediate causes of changes in time expenditure. A fundamental formal education "inculcates" the system of modern culture, and the more education the more intensively the mechanism for "inculcating" culture operates.

The basic characteristic of the time allocations of workers who have completed part or all of secondary school, when compared to those with minimal educations, is an expansion and intensification of activities related to culture. As tables 13 and 14 demonstrate, in all the categories studied—youths and mature workers, and men and women as a whole—the transition from the lowest to the average cultural-educational group results in a turning to cultural life in its modern forms, and this becomes the most prolonged type of time expenditure in the daily routine outside of sleeping. Among youths and fathers in this group, time expenditures connected with culture exceed time devoted to housework; it is only the married women in this group for whom cultural activities take second place, yielding to housework. The opposite is true of poorly educated male workers: only one of the four categories studied among them, men with families, allot cultural activities more time than other forms of everyday behavior.

The increased role of culture in the daily routine of educated workers is especially apparent among young workers. The total length of activities relating to culture increases among young men and women who have good formal educational backgrounds two to three times over the corresponding time expenditures among poorly educated youth. Among

young workers with a 5- through 10-grade education, television, reading, movies, study, etc., take up 2-3 hours on weekdays and 4-5 hours per day on weekends—which is about half the time left after work, eating, sleeping, etc. (50-55 per cent of the time expenditures among young men, approximately 45 per cent among young women). In fact, in the modern Soviet city, cultural life (including types of recreation and socializing associated with culture) provides the main type of everyday time expenditures of the well-educated young worker. The center of the young worker's daily routine shifts from the realm of traditional household activities and the most simple socializing to the realm of culture.

In the daily routine of young urban workers there are practically no factors that hinder the influence of education, which thus appears here in pure form. In this sense, the amount and rate of the intensification of the young worker's cultural life reveals the maximum impact of the influence of education in non-productive activities.

In other strata of the population with good education, above all workers with families, the expansion of activities connected with culture is noticeably slower. The influence of education here is restrained by obligations and responsibilities not present for youth. It is not surprising that the amount of time spent on culture by parents increases by no more than 1.5 times over the corresponding indices in the lowest cultural group. And this growth is only attained by workers with secondary educations (8 through 10 grades). All the more remarkable, then, is the general tendency for increased education to intensify modern forms of cultural life not only among youth but also among married workers.

However, the question here is not merely increased expenditures of time. Still more important is the fact that, with increased education, the place of television, reading, public performances, studies, etc., in the hierarchy of everyday interests and aspirations changes, the fact that the individual's evaluation of this sort of time allocation changes. Here the subjects' responses describing how they would use extra time are especially indicative. In the preceding section we saw that poorly educated workers wanted

to spend more time on housework. Workers with a good formal education have an entirely different structure of desires. In this group, even among female workers, responses touched on various cultural activities and cultured forms of recreation. Approximately 45-50 per cent of the well-educated workers gave answers of this type (dealing with television, reading, studies, public performances, amateur activity); the number of these responses exceeded that of responses expressing the desire to do housework by two to three times for women and almost ten times for men.¹

At the "under-educated" level, modern forms of cultural life, as we saw, were nothing more than adjuncts to the traditional pattern of everyday activities; they fill time when all other possibilities have been exhausted. For the individual with a good formal education, participation in culture, its everyday consumption, and culture-related diversions, become the most important need, and thus the desire to satisfy this need determines to a large extent behavior as a whole. In this sense, culture has become the center of the daily routine for educated workers even when they cannot allot enough time to it (as is the case for female workers with families). Here, in contrast to the lowest educational group, the relatively short duration of cultural activities is caused exclusively by external circumstances. The elimination of these circumstances and, above all, the ultimate development of the system of services, will undoubtedly lead to a situation where well-educated mothers with families will allot more of the time not taken up by sleeping and socially useful labor to various forms of cultural life. In the not too distant future, participation in culture will occupy the main place in the elastic time periods of non-working hours, not just for the majority but for practically all well-educated workers. However, one can also say—for workers as a whole—since a high level of education will in "the foreseeable future" become a general, obligatory property for all working people in the USSR; it will be just as much a matter of course as literacy is today.

¹ We should note that in Taganrog, on the question of the use of extra time, we applied a somewhat different classification for "well-educated" than in the rest of our research—"well-educated" included workers who had completed 7-9 grades.

In general, however much education develops in the next generation, the school system is so developed today that its influence on the daily routine—not to mention the realm of production—is felt not by separate groups but by society as a whole. According to the 1970 census, more than 48 per cent of the population of the USSR over 10 years of age has a secondary (complete or incomplete) education or higher education; for the employed part of the population the figures are still higher—more than 65 per cent have completed 7 or more grades.

Since secondary education greatly increases the urgency of cultural activity, universal secondary education will mean, in addition to everything else, that everyday participation in culture will become one of the main social needs (and not simply the need of one group of the population). In a society in which the majority of citizens are well educated, cultural activities are almost as great a necessity as food, clothing and shelter. From the standpoint of the management of modern society, the creation and maintenance of conditions for the constant consumption of culture in the daily routine (especially, the development of mass media) takes its place alongside organization of supply systems, housing construction, medical services, etc.

Data on the increased urgency and duration of cultural activities reveals that it stems from increased education. A picture of the concrete ways in which the daily routine develops under the influence of education is given by scrutiny of the individual activities that constitute everyday cultural life.

A first conclusion based on "differentiated reading" of data on time expenditures in the cultural sphere actually concerns the totality of activities rather than any individual activity. The conclusion is that it is precisely in the groups with average education that the difference in the general make-up and ratio of time expenditures on daily cultural life reaches a peak among youths and married workers. There is a certain intermediate nature of the mode of life that has here taken shape under the influence of an average education. This education is sufficient to allow time expenditures on cultural activity to become one of the central categories of daily life, but not yet sufficient to turn cultural

demands engendered by education into a factor so strong that it can limit the influence of differences in age-family status in the realm of culture.

The cultural life of married workers. Among the specific features of the everyday cultural life of married workers who have completed 5-7 or 8-10 grades, the time allocation of male workers is most striking. The most important of these characteristics are evident even from a brief glance at Table 14.

As the table shows, the main difference between male workers who have families and have a minimal level of education and those who have an adequate or good educational background is that the latter spend more time watching television. They watch television, on the average, 10-11 hours per week, almost twice as much as poorly educated workers with families. Among married workers, the entire increase in time spent on contemporary cultural life for the second educational group and much of the growth in the third group is time allotted to television. Workers who have televisions watch, on the average, 13-14 hours a week, or almost 2 hours a day.

Thus, the attraction of modern communications media and the general demand for modern forms of cultural life appears initially, for many people, in an interest in television. This is quite understandable, for the transition to modern culture is realized most easily in activities with the most readily accessible imagery and ones closely associated or coupled with entertainment. In the modern city, television is, without a doubt, one of these varieties of cultural life (perhaps the sole form widely accessible to families) and thus its attraction in the average cultural-educational stratum of workers is quite natural.

The increased time spent on television is characteristic of the average educational level; the maximum time spent watching television is among male workers with families and who have completed 5-7 grades. In each subsequent education group, the amount of time devoted to television decreases.

Television is also one of the principal features of the everyday cultural life of married working women who have adequate or good educational backgrounds. Television ac-

counts for more than half of all their time expenditures on culture. Women in the third (8-10 grades) cultural-education group spend the most time watching television. The fact that increased "educational potential" is needed to overcome the tremendous "resistance" of domestic cares of women to increased leisure is quite obvious here.

The amount of time married workers in the middle educational groups spend on television allows us to draw some conclusions as to the connection between television and education. For many people at an average cultural level, especially those with families, television becomes at times an all-consuming activity. In effect, the relationship between education and television describes not a straight line but more often a bell curve. So complex is this relationship, as are the relationships between the amount of time spent on television and many other factors besides education, that it forces one to think that despite the restraining influence of increased culture the amount of time spent on television will increase, rather than decrease, when secondary school education becomes universal.

It would, of course, be an exaggeration to make the role of television the point of reference in the daily routine of married people in the middle educational groups, to reduce all changes in the cultural life of this category of workers to increased time spent watching television. Comparison of time budgets of poorly educated married workers and married workers who have finished 5-7 and 8-10 grades (see Table 14) reveals an indubitable increase in average amount of time devoted to reading and going to movies and the theater. Indirect calculations show that during the month preceding our survey, about 60-65 per cent of the workers in this category went to movies, about the same percentage read magazines, and 35-40 per cent read books.

Reading newspapers is a particularly prominent activity for adequately and well-educated married men. Fathers in the middle cultural groups allot newspaper reading as an autonomous activity (i.e., not counting papers read on the way to work, at meal time, etc.) a little less than 3 hours a week. Such special time expenditures were reported in the course of the three days surveyed by more than 70 per cent of the men with complete or incomplete secondary educations.

For married working women in the middle cultural groups, too, there is a clear increase of time spent reading newspapers. But in absolute terms the increase remains quite insignificant—from 30 minutes to 45 minutes per week (as opposed to 20 minutes for poorly educated working women). Only 30-40 per cent of women with a 5-10-grade education listed serious newspaper reading as an autonomous activity during the 3-day period studied. In families at the lowest and middle cultural levels, reading newspapers remains a specifically male source of socio-political information. From this point of view, television, as a source of current information, is of more significance for women than for men, though men almost always spend far more time watching television than do women.

One further change in the cultural life of married workers (especially those in the middle group) deserves attention. A good education (8-10 grades) involves mothers and fathers in a particularly noteworthy kind of time expenditure—organized study. On the average, men spend about 5 hours a week on studies, women—2-3. As already mentioned, combining work with study in almost all cases takes up approximately the same amount of time—about 20-25 hours per week. This means that as of now, a secondary school education involves 10-15 per cent of working mothers and over 20 per cent of working fathers in evening and correspondence study.

Thus, the everyday cultural life of adequately and well-educated workers is not reduced merely to watching television or even watching television and reading newspapers even in their mature years. In this group, there are many people with varied cultural interests. But the same data reveal that a comparatively small number of married workers at the middle educational levels live a harmonious and many-sided cultural life.

In fact, only television watching and, in part, newspaper reading are genuinely mass forms of everyday participation in cultural life. All other types of the consumption of culture affect the daily routine of this group to a much lesser extent. The cultural life of adequately and even well-educated workers still consists primarily of television and newspapers.

There can be no question that the television-newspaper type of everyday cultural life is an enormous step forward when compared with the under-educated cultural level. Noticeable remnants of the patriarchal, traditional way of life were characteristic of broad strata of workers not only in pre-revolutionary Russia, but also in the first stages of the building of socialism. However, in a developed socialist society patriarchal cultural activities objectively cut man off from the mainstream of social life and at times threaten to turn him into a social outsider. It is not surprising that the culture of the under-educated is felt today to be a lack of culture in the ordinary sense of the word. Television and newspapers are, indeed, the means for acquiring cultural values in modern society; they facilitate bringing the individual into the world of modern society, into its politics and culture. The television-newspaper type of cultural life is socially useful and functional in the sense that it aids the development of the individual, his "entrance" into the urban way of life.

However, it does not follow that television and newspapers suffice for a truly harmonious development of personality or that they are the best means for involvement in modern culture and social and political activity. The necessarily limited nature of a cultural life arising on such a basis, the danger of a certain passivity and placidity, that are inevitably associated with an overemphasis on television- and newspaper-centered culture, are so obvious that a society that consciously regulates its development cannot overlook such circumstances.

The cultural activities of the young. Data on the time expenditures of young workers in middle educational groups are yet more interesting; their daily routine, filled with more cultural activity, as noted before, is quite distinct from the daily routine of married workers. The very magnitude of the differences is one reason to suppose that here we shall see another variant of the transition from the traditional or pseudo-urban culture to a modern type of everyday cultural life.

In some ways, the changes in the cultural life of youth that stem from an adequate or good education remind us of corresponding processes in the daily routine of married

workers. However, even analogous consequences of the impact of education acquire forms specific to youth.

For young workers, for example, as for workers with families, the transition from the lowest to the middle educational level is attended by an undoubted development of the most readily accessible varieties of modern culture. But among youth, the expansion of such simple forms of cultural life is connected not so much with television as with movies. Minimal education causes youth to take an interest in public entertainment, movies especially. Beginning with the second cultural group, young people in all educational categories allot public performances an average of 3-4 hours per week (as opposed to 1-2 hours for the first group). In practice, this means that the majority of young workers attend movies one or two times a week, some even more often. So far as television is concerned, its significance for youth begins to dwindle at the middle levels of education. As Table 14 illustrates, young workers finishing 5-10 grades spend less time watching television than poorly educated youths.

However, whatever the correlation between movies and television may be, it is not these activities that determine the principal difference between the daily cultural life of young and married workers in the middle educational groups. On the contrary, the sharp increase in interest in movies, on the one hand, and interest in television, on the other, are essentially specific forms of the same process of increased consumption of the most readily accessible forms of modern culture in the transition from minimal to basic formal education. The most profound difference is that for young workers with a 5-10-grade education, neither movies nor television, nor the two together, nor newspapers, play the dominant role in cultural time expenditures that is characteristic of working fathers and mothers. Television, newspapers and movies take up only 30-40 per cent of the time devoted to culture by youth in the middle education groups: for married workers in these groups, the corresponding indices are 60-70 per cent and sometimes even 80 per cent. For youth, attaining a thorough education is attended by the development of more varied forms of cultural life than is the case for married workers.

Thus, for example, young workers finishing 5-10 grades consume belles lettres, socio-political and popular scientific literature on a massive scale. Young people in the middle educational groups (as opposed to married workers) spend no less time reading than watching television; young people finishing 5-10 grades read about 4-5 hours a week. Since reading an average book, for the individuals we studied, takes 8-10 hours, each young worker reads no less than two books per month. This high intensity of reading persists, of course, in subsequent educational groups. A basic modern education (5-7 grades) constitutes a landmark in the reading habits of youth: beginning with this level, the habit of reading books, or, if you will, the need for books, becomes almost general and irresistible among youth.

Although among most youths with an adequate or good education there are no noticeable differences in the amount of time spent reading, a different irregularity is perceptible. In intensity of reading, young women in the middle cultural-education groups clearly surpass young men. This fact is all the more important because reading plays a greater role among married women than it does among married men. The absolute duration of reading among working mothers, however, is slightly less than among fathers, although the time women devote to reading represents a larger proportion of all time expenditures related to culture.

It seems, data on youth's reading habits—data that are greater and therefore more reliable—highlight a special feature of interest in books among the population as a whole: at the middle educational levels, intensity of reading books develops more quickly among women than among men, while interest in television is more apparent among men. In the middle educational groups, the time fathers spend watching television grows much more quickly than for mothers, and the time decreases more slowly for young men than for young women (see Table 14). In this sense, one can speak of a tendency for television to have a male audience, while books have a female audience.

Of course, only special research will show whether such tendencies reflect profound differences in socio-psychological perception of culture or whether they are related to transient

features of the present state of television, for example, the heightened role of particularly "male" sports programs. Only after such research will there be a basis for discussing the ramifications of this phenomenon. However, there can be no doubt that it is necessary to take into account the unequal place of books and television today in the lives of men and women (after all, the middle education groups encompass the majority of the urban population).

Data on combining work with studies are of prime importance for understanding the specifics of the cultural life of well-educated working youth, for clarifying this group's differences from its poorly educated peers as well as from well-educated married workers. Correspondence and evening study is one of the clearest characteristics of the mode of life of young workers who have completed 5-10 grades. In our sample, approximately 30-40 per cent of the young workers in the second education group (5-7 grades) take correspondence or evening courses. In the next group— young workers who have finished 8-10 grades—the proportion of those involved in study climbs on approximately 50 per cent. Widespread interest in correspondence and evening courses is a major shift influenced by middle-level education. It is significant that study, an activity almost wholly absent in the first cultural group, is for young workers with a 5-10-grade education the cultural activity absorbing the largest amounts of time; the average magnitude of study time surpasses time spent on reading, television, public performances and amateur activity (taken separately). On the other hand, in the middle education groups it is precisely in the area of study that differences between the cultural life of young workers and married workers are clearest.

We had the opportunity earlier to stress the organic connection between evening and correspondence study and the youth stage of the life cycle, and the as yet incomplete professional and cultural socialization of young workers. Analysis of data on time allocation for separate educational groups shows that the socialization of young workers does not always take the form of combining work and study, but only in specific situations, in particular, the attainment

of a specific minimum level of education. Moreover, in the conditions of the Soviet city, where access to evening and correspondence courses is easy, where studies have social prestige, where the encouragement of social institutions and of public opinion constitutes an intrinsic aspect of the conditions of life—in such a setting the level of education turns into a major (though not the only) objective cause of young workers continuing their education. In other respects, continuing study depends primarily on psychological, moral and other subjective traits of a given young person, his purposefulness, character, will-power, etc. Therefore, as soon as the necessary minimal education is attained, evening and correspondence study among young workers immediately becomes widespread.

Since the overwhelming majority of youth in the USSR have adequate and good educational background, the broad development of organized studies—like widespread reading—appears as a specific characteristic of young people's way of life. However, this is a characteristic of the mode of life of Soviet youth in particular, a characteristic conditioned and mediated by the whole system of social relations (including the massive development of public education) typical of socialism. The data of the international comparative study of time budgets testify that the level of study among young Soviet workers (mostly men and women from middle education groups) far surpasses the level typical of capitalist countries: in Pskov, which represented the USSR in this study, the proportion of students among single men and women working in industry was 3-6 times higher than in towns studied in capitalist countries.¹

On the whole, there is no doubt that the everyday cultural life of youths who have finished 5-10 grades is marked by a rather greater diversity and complexity than that of married workers at the same level of education. Youth's transition from a rudimentary to a higher level of education leads to the formation of a relatively complex and, most important, more or less proportionate system of everyday activities connected with participation in modern culture.

¹ *International Comparative Study of Time Budgets*, p. 61 (in Russian).

Of course, one should not forget that the mean figures upon which our conclusions are based are somewhat relative. Substantial differences lie behind these averages. A series of data characterizing a particular group (see tables 13 and 14, for example) by no means necessarily reflect an integral type of behavior; often there "coexist" within the bounds of a specific educational level certain variants of behavior.

However, as already mentioned, there can be no doubt that the majority of working youths who have completed 5-10 grades participate in a cultural life involving activities such as reading books, magazines, watching television, and going to public performances. The only exception here is evening and correspondence study, in which somewhat less than half the young workers from the middle educational groups participate. This is all the more reason for stating that worker-students have a particular way of spending time that is distinct from that of other youths.

But it is important to keep in mind that combining work with study is far from eliminating other forms of the consumption of culture, though it noticeably limits the duration of free reading, watching television, going to movies, etc. Time spent on studies, as is apparent from Table 17, is taken to a great extent from other types of everyday activity.

In other words, the everyday cultural life of one part of youth in the middle education groups is built upon study but is not restricted to it, while among the rest, reading, television and public performances are more or less necessarily included in cultural life. Therefore, the conclusion that adequately and well-educated youths have a varied everyday cultural life is true not only when applied to the group as a whole but is also true of the actual behavior of the majority of the members of the group.

There is no question that it would be incorrect to conclude from this that the everyday cultural life of youths with an average education manifests utterly ideal features. As Table 14 demonstrates, there is an obvious lack of development of cultural activities associated with amateur creativity in the everyday cultural life of young workers in the middle educational groups. Amateur activity, activities in clubs, workshops, etc., do not exceed, on the

average, 1-2 hours a week and involve a small minority of the workers studied. Many time expenditures on activities closely related to culture, especially sports and tourism, also clearly do not attain the necessary level. There persists in the daily routine of young educated workers a lack of mediating forms of social intercourse arising, as mentioned above, through the development of complex, multi-functional activities in the area of spiritual and physical culture.

Education and cultural life. Concluding our survey of data on cultural activities among workers in the middle educational groups, we shall return to a generalized description, not differentiated for married and young workers. Having examined each of these variants, the general characteristics that distinguish the daily cultural life of all persons with an average education from the cultural life of those who have received only a rudimentary formal education are apparent. A basic formal education in all cases leads to an increase in time spent on cultural activities and to an increase in the relative urgency of such expenditures. Here it is appropriate to view this phenomenon from a somewhat different standpoint. Strictly speaking, the increased time spent on reading, television, public entertainment, study, and so on, signifies not so much an expansion in time or intensification of everyday cultural life as a fundamental change in the type of cultural life. Brevity of time expenditures that are in our classification associated with participation in culture is not always testimony to culture's small importance. As noted above, much more often this situation speaks of a traditional, patriarchal pattern of life, in which involvement in culture is not broken down into separate activities but merges with the whole process of vital activity. Increased education leads to an increased duration and urgency of reading, watching television, study, and so on, and transforms these cultural activities from secondary elements—as they were in the lowest education group—into the basis of everyday cultural life.

Accordingly, cultural life itself, with the transition to a thorough education—independent of its age characteristics—ceases to be merely an aspect of work and recreation

and becomes instead an autonomous aspect of behavior, a basic type of vital activity.

More—this is another general feature of cultural life that has taken shape under the impact of education. The everyday cultural life of the individual with a modern educational background, as opposed to the patriarchal form of contact with spiritual values, is formed from a whole system of separate, distinct and clearly demarcated activities. In some ways, the partitioning of activities connected with culture is today more apparent than is the case for most other areas of the daily routine. Almost every form of everyday participation in modern culture is mediated or conditioned by the work of specialized institutions. A cultural life based on reading, television, public entertainments and studies is more than ever before distinct from other types of everyday vital activities, and its components are increasingly separated from each other. In addition, cultural life is much more closely linked—in a literal sense included—with the activities of special social institutions—mass media, organizations for popular education, etc.

In other words, attaining a thorough education draws the individual into a type of everyday cultural life that is different from the patriarchal, under-educated forms not simply because culture becomes a specific activity, and not even because of the articulation of culture into separate activities, but because of the organization, the institutionalization of these activities.

This articulation into numerous, separate activities is often viewed as a shortcoming of modern cultural life, signifying the disappearance of integral and genuinely harmonious participation in culture. Generally speaking, one must admit that this articulation and specialization to a great extent reduces the integrity of one's perception of the spiritual world, a unity so characteristic of the classic manifestation of the patriarchal, village way of life. It would, however, be incorrect merely to see only this side of the question.

The integral structure of traditional, popular (perhaps it would be even more fitting to term it "folkloric") culture, whose remnants we find in the daily lives of the lowest

educational group, is inevitably combined with certain limitations of this culture. Traditional, patriarchal participation in culture is not connected with any significant expansion of knowledge beyond that which is connected with primary socialization. Cultural life in this case refines the individual's aesthetic inclinations, his moral principles, and gives one the feeling that participation in the broad social and cultural community, not to mention leisure and recreations, is being constantly renewed. But all this is based on the use, the mastery of more or less constant elements, elements that do not change at least for one or two generations. There is no expansion of the rather limited range of information obtained during early socialization, so participating in culture hardly changes the picture of the world with which the individual enters the "adult" world. Strictly speaking, the stable and fixed nature of the spiritual world within the traditional, patriarchal daily routine, like the limited volume of knowledge that it is based on, is one of the prerequisites for an integral, indivisible cultural life.

Modern culture is built upon totally different bases. Its inherent trait is a rapid change of the sphere of knowledge, information, conceptions—if you will, a fluctuating picture of the world, a developing system of values. Breaking down the single process of vital activity into specialized and institutionalized activities is a necessary condition for consumption of and participation in such a culture. Turning everyday cultural life into an aggregate of separate, distinct activities is not so much a loss of wholeness as an acquisition of the ability to relate developments in the changing culture of today's world. So far as the loss of wholeness goes, one must speak conditionally: the immediate wholeness and many-sidedness of primary participation in culture disappear, yet the opportunity for an integral perception of spiritual values remains at a higher level of abstraction.

Viewing the cultural life of the adequately and well-educated from this standpoint we are, in effect, highlighting yet another general property. Modern culture is inevitably attended with a continual expansion of the knowledge and conceptions that lie at its base. Reading, television, public

performances and study, by their very nature, draw the individual into a process of assimilating new information. In this sense, one may speak of a certain intellectuality as a specific property of all variants of the everyday cultural life of the better-educated workers, as opposed to the traditionalism, the ritualism of patriarchal forms of participation in culture.

The housework of educated women. We have given so much attention to the everyday cultural activities of workers with 5- through 10-grade educations precisely because it is in this area of the daily routine that increased education is most directly and clearly reflected. However, increased education also makes itself felt in less obvious ways and in other aspects of everyday activity.

Activities connected with housework provide a clear example of the organic influence of education in areas outside cultural life. Tables 13 and 14 show that the length of time all working women (unmarried youths as well as mothers) in the middle education groups spend on housework is noticeably less than time spent by working women in the lowest cultural group. Total housework among married men remains approximately the same for both groups but well-educated workers spend less time on activities such as gardening, repairs, odd jobs, etc., while they spend more time on housework proper.

Our materials indicate specifically that increased education not only changes the amount of time spent on housework but also, to a significant extent, the very nature of housework, its place in the system of everyday activity. Most indicative are the responses to the question of how workers would use extra time, should it be available. In the lowest group, 90 per cent of the women and 70 per cent of the men mentioned that they would use the extra time for work about the house. In the subsequent groups, the corresponding figures are down to 70-80 per cent and 40-50 per cent respectively. More highly educated persons not only in fact do less housework, but, it seems, feel less need to do housework.

Of course, it would be absurd to explain this by saying that educated persons have fewer domestic requirements. There is also no reason to believe that their families are provided with more and better communal conveniences or

domestic appliances. It seems that the only sound explanation is that attaining basic modern education decreases interest in housework and related activities. This is certainly understandable. We have already noted that, within the patriarchal mode of life, housework (indistinguishable here from work in general) is important not only in its results, but in itself, and includes within itself other essential elements of cultural life, self-expression, etc. In the modern city, the economic bases for such an attitude are undermined. However, given an absence or lack of education, the socio-psychological prerequisites for the traditional pattern of behavior, including attitudes toward housework and the need simply to keep busy, can long persist.

Completing at least a basic modern formal education, not to speak of higher levels of education, destroys the requisites for clinging to the patriarchal pattern. The most appealing aspects of work—elements of creativity, a sense of fulfilling one's duty, self-expression, and self-assertion—are identified in the consciousness of most well-educated workers with labor in social production. In addition, the transition to a specialized and institutionalized cultural life, the breaking down of cultural life into a particular group of activities, deprives of all meaning the forms of acquiring spiritual values that are an intrinsic part of everyday housework in the traditional, patriarchal conditions. In sum, increased education decreases—and tends to eliminate—the appeal of housework as a specific activity. For most well-educated urban workers, the many forms of housework are important only in their results. Usually (though not always) housework in itself seems merely an unavoidable necessity, hardly desirable.

Shifts in attitudes toward household activities readily explain the nature of the changes in time expenditures for the majority of our subjects. Decreasing interest in housework duly leads to a decrease in the amount of time young women, mothers and youths spend on housework. The dependence of the shift in the daily routine on attitudes toward housework makes it possible to view the course of this process (reducing time expenditures on housework and broadening the "time universe" of cultural life) as an aggregate of different causes: first, change in everyday house-

work's place in the system of accepted values and, second, the development of a need for new forms of cultural life. Although both causes are, in the final analysis, interrelated and directly influence behavior, they do not coincide with one another. It is not surprising, then, that their influence does not have identical results.

Substantial reductions in the housework burden of women in proportion to the increase of education once again underscore the multiplicity of direct and indirect means that can (and even necessarily should) be used to achieve social goals. As Table 14 shows, increasing education from 3-4 to 5-10 grades results in decreasing housework time for working mothers by approximately 15 per cent (from 36-37 hours a week to 30-32 hours); a transition to specialized education reduces housework time by almost one-third from the base magnitude (down to 25-26 hours). Increasing the monthly per capita income from 40-50 to 80-90 rubles, as we recall, is attended by a decrease in housework time among working mothers of only 10-15 per cent, from 33-34 hours to 28-29 hours a week.

In other words, increased education alone, independent of other factors, is as effective a means of shortening the excessive burden of housework among women as the development of services, increased well-being, etc. But it is hardly reasonable to use this means by itself, for the potential would then be too limited. In conjunction with improved services and a general improvement in the standard of living, however, the growth of education is one of the most important conditions for overcoming the remnants of a daily routine that is oppressive for women.

The household activities of educated men. The weakening of traditional attitudes toward housework allows one to interpret logically even those incommensurable changes in which the effect of education on men's participation in household activities is manifested.

As applied to men, the weakening of the attraction of housework as remnants of patriarchal psychology are effaced is reflected mainly in the area of traditionally male activities, for it was only such activities that were felt to be attractive in the past. In this sense, the decreased time spent on gardening, odd jobs, etc., appears distinctly in a comparison

of time budgets of men of different educational backgrounds, and it appears to be entirely the same process we noted for women. However, we should recall that the traditional attitude toward housework presupposes not only the spontaneous urge for constant activity, but also the inclination toward quite specific activities. Carry-overs from the patriarchal daily routine equally complicate men's participation in anything that is not "man's work", just as they foster a greater interest in housework as a whole. The disappearance of patriarchal carry-overs opens up, as it were, completely new areas of housework for men. Of course, the educated man hardly takes pleasure in doing "woman's work", but he ceases to have feelings, instilled from birth, that prohibit him from doing some "woman's work". The opportunity for a somewhat more "rational" attitude toward domestic responsibilities develops. Moreover, the growth of education, like the entire socio-psychological climate of Soviet society, sharpens men's and women's awareness of the injustice of unequal distribution of family obligations.

In such conditions, increased education engenders changes in many directions within the area of men's household activities. On the one hand, time expenditures connected with traditionally male work decrease. On the other, the same process of overcoming patriarchal remnants leads to a certain expansion of male participation in everyday service to the family and to a certain equalization of the work load of men and women in the daily routine. As is apparent from Table 14, the amount of time that poorly educated married men spend on housework proper scarcely exceeds 10 per cent of the corresponding time expenditures of poorly educated working mothers. In the subsequent groups of our cultural series, married men allot to everyday housework 20-25 per cent of the time women do.

Of course, this is not a large increase. And in general, one would be naive to suppose that, in the foreseeable future, increasing the education of men will resolve the problem of the domestic inequality of women. Emancipation from traditional, patriarchal stereotypes and values is only one of many factors determining the correlation of domestic roles of fathers and mothers. Literal equality of men's and women's family responsibilities is hardly a goal of

socialism: the real goal is to equally free men and women from extreme household overburdening that hinders the harmonious development of the individual. At the present stage of movement toward this goal, however, the burden of housework rests so heavily upon the shoulders of women that almost any means of relieving them—including a definite increase in the men's domestic work load—must be utilized to the fullest possible extent.

Extrafamilial social intercourse and the role of the small group. It is obvious from general considerations that the shift to a sound or good education should lead to organic changes in extrafamilial intercourse—the last important category of the daily routine. It is difficult to imagine that shifts in goals and value orientations, shifts attendant on the growth of education, are in no way reflected in this aspect of daily behavior.

However, the nature of the changes occurring here under the influence of education is such that these changes are reflected only very faintly in increases and decreases of time expenditures. Consequently data on the duration of social intercourse with guests, meetings with friends, walks, visiting parks, dances and restaurants, present a rather less distinct picture of basic tendencies than do data on time spent on cultural activities or housework.

However, certain features in this data are indicative. The main impact of education is evident, rather logically, in data indicating a certain increase in time spent in extrafamilial social intercourse among women with a 5-10-grade education, while among men such time expenditures remain constant or, for young men, decrease (see tables 13 and 14). Such changes are easily linked to the general decline of the patriarchal daily routine. The "under-educated" mode of life, as already noted, prescribes constant activity for women and thereby unavoidably limits their extrafamilial intercourse. Among poorly educated males, deprived by the urban environment of traditional everyday activities, there is often an exceptional increase in intensity of outside contacts.

In this sense, the convergence of time expenditures connected with social intercourse among men and women in the middle educational groups can be viewed as the external,

quantitative manifestation of qualitative changes in the very nature of extrafamilial intercourse.

Changes in the relationship of domestic and non-domestic social intercourse among youths with different educational backgrounds are still more profound. As is apparent from Table 14, among youths with a sound or good formal education social intercourse in a domestic setting increases. Visiting and entertaining, for young men with a 5-10-grade education, takes up about one-third of the time spent on social intercourse, while this activity accounts for only one-tenth of the time so spent by youths in the lowest educational group. Among young women, the proportion of domestic intercourse rises from one-third to between one-half and two-thirds.

What do these changes signify? How are they connected with increased education and the development of culture as a whole? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to understand the difference between domestic and other forms of social intercourse.

We have considered one series of such difference above, in the description of the daily routine of family-age groups. Given conditions otherwise equal, visiting and entertaining opens a larger field for social intercourse with family and kin. It also opens opportunities for social intercourse by people with numerous obligations. And these are the properties that define the "domestication" of social intercourse in the transition from youth to the central stage of the life cycle.

However, the development of domestic forms of social intercourse among educated youth clearly stems from other circumstances. Education increases the intensity of domestic forms of intercourse but, along with this, decreases the intensity (at least relatively) and significance of ties with relatives. Similarly, there is no reason to think that increased formal education decreases the everyday mobility of the individual as does a heavy burden of domestic obligations.

Obviously, an explanation of the link between education and the growth of domestic forms of social intercourse must be sought in some other properties of the latter. We suppose the following to be the decisive factor. Under normal conditions of the modern city, within the framework of existing norms and customs, visiting provides numerous

opportunities for social intercourse in a small group, formed not by traditional or formal ties but by mutual sympathies, interests and the group's free choice. In this way, the increased weight of domestic forms of social intercourse may signify the increased role of the small group in the system of everyday contacts, a strengthening of informal, freely chosen relationships. The relaxation of traditional human intercourse with neighbors, and even relatives, its emancipation from the "tyranny of custom", is in full accord with one of the basic directions of education's impact on the daily routine—the overcoming of remnants of the patriarchal way of life. In this respect, expanded social intercourse with guests plays the same role that the gradual equalizing of the intensity of extrafamilial social intercourse among men and women does.

Data on the increased weight of visiting and entertaining in total extrafamilial social intercourse, data used as the basis for our conclusion as to the increased significance of small groups and free, informal contacts among educated workers, refer specifically to youth. But this conclusion itself can evidently be extended to include the whole urban population. So far as the lack of change in the correlation between domestic and non-domestic forms of social intercourse among well-educated married workers is concerned, this situation can be explained by the fact that changes in the time allocations of fathers and mothers often become noticeable only after more significant cultural changes than those which suffice to transform the daily routine of youths. It is quite indicative that, in comparing the terminal groups—poorly educated workers and worker-specialists—the change to domestic forms of social intercourse can be traced specifically not only among young people, but even among married men: visiting and entertaining accounts for approximately 60 per cent of the time married men spend on social intercourse in the first case, 70 per cent, in the second.

By and large, it is obvious that the changing ratio of domestic to public forms of social intercourse is not the sole possible manifestation of the growing importance of small groups in the system of everyday personal contacts. Therefore, although changes in the magnitude of time expen-

ditures of part of the workers can aid in highlighting this tendency, it would be naive to think that the changes should appear in equal measure in all the education groups.

The expanded role of the small group, the increased intensity of freely chosen contacts in general, and of domestic forms of social intercourse in particular, aids the improvement of the socialist mode of life and answers to the socio-aesthetic ideals of Soviet society. Harmonious development of the individual presupposes not only the individual's participation in group activities, not only his tie with the collectives and organizations—it demands a harmonious combination of collectivism and the satisfaction of individual tastes, needs and demands. The rich intimate, individual world is as necessary an aspect of the communist ideal as the conscious participation of the individual in the life of society. Disharmony is equally dangerous, no matter how it manifests itself—in the uncontrollable development of individualism or in taking collectivism and organizing to "barracks" extremes. Insofar as the broadening of organizational principles in production and in socio-political activity is inevitable, a certain enhancement of individual, informal elements in some areas of the daily routine, including social intercourse, is one of the conditions for the formation of a harmonious personality. In this sense, the daily routine of educated workers, in spite of the enhanced role of the small group in social intercourse (or, more precisely, because of this increase), favors the formation of a conscious and healthy collectivism more than does the mode of life of poorly educated persons.

Along with these general considerations, it is also necessary to take into account some other quite positive consequences of the expansion of domestic forms of social intercourse. We should not forget that, given the real conditions of the modern city, it is precisely street contacts that are especially connected with socially harmful and dangerous types of "deviant" behavior. Typically, special surveys in Taganrog on the problems of social intercourse show a certain shift in the attitude toward drunkenness and alcohol among educated workers: they mention drinking as a customary activity when meeting with friends and acquaintances less often—among men with elementary education, 25-30 per

cent mentioned drinking, while only 10-15 per cent of those with complete secondary education mentioned it. Even more indicative of changing mores is the fact that, with increased education, the number of people who feel it "improper" and "awkward" not to offer guests wine or vodka decreases. It would be unwise to rest all hopes for rooting out harmful traditions on the automatic effect of raising the level of education. Spontaneous processes alone will hardly lead to radical changes, at least in the near future. However, the historical trends of the changes in the daily routine, including changes in social intercourse stemming from education, are part of the objective socio-cultural base on which it is alone possible to develop a realistic strategy for a planned and conscious struggle with drunkenness and the consequent social vices.

4. THE GROUP WITH HIGHER LEVELS OF EDUCATION

Make-up of the group. The last, most developed group in our cultural series is the group of highly educated workers, people employed as workers but having a special secondary or higher (complete or incomplete) education. They made up 5-10 per cent of our sample.

In historical perspective, these figures are not small; on the contrary, the fact that almost one in ten of those surveyed either has or is obtaining a special education testifies to the enormous rise in the cultural and technical level of the Soviet working class. But their number is clearly inadequate for detailed analysis, particularly as the typological character of this group is especially limited. On the one hand, workers in this group include those whose labor is connected with the use of the latest technology, managing complex processes, etc.; special education is for them a necessity of their work, it organically and directly stems from their present position in the system of production. On the other hand, there are among workers with a high level of education no few people who are, so to speak, in an intermediate situation, on the eve of a decisive change in their socio-professional status and in the whole character of their labor activity.

Nevertheless, data on time allocation among people with special training are often quite indicative and underscore the most important tendencies engendered in the daily routine by an increase in the level of education. The coincidence of the general changes arising through the acquisition of a special education with the changes described in detail in the comparison of the first groups of the cultural ranking makes it possible to isolate the truly stable processes, to distinguish them from random or secondary fluctuations.

Description of cultural life. From this point of view, correlation of the basic types of activity as reflected in time expenditures, the nature of time allocation by worker-specialists in principle, as it were, is quite indicative. The data in Table 14 show that, in almost all categories examined, the transition to special education is attended by an increase in time spent on modern forms of cultural life. Time spent on the latter increases, among fathers and youth, to 25-30 hours per week (as against 20-25 hours at the preceding level of education). Activities directly associated with culture absorb approximately 50-60 per cent of all elastic time expenditures.

Along with the expansion of the "time universe" of culture, reduction of the duration of housework among worker-specialists also testifies to the stability of many tendencies highlighted in the description of the daily routine of groups with average education. Such activities are reduced by 20-30 per cent relative to the corresponding indices for well-educated workers (from 30 to 25 hours a week among mothers, from 11-14 to 8 hours among fathers, from 5-6 to 1-2 hours among young men).

It is worth noting that, in absolute terms, the foreshortening of domestic work is greatest among mothers. However, the enormous role of housework in the daily routine of married women not infrequently leads to a situation where their increased education is very weakly reflected in the total duration of cultural life—in distinction from all other groups studied. The domestic burden here (and only here) is so great that it inevitably extraordinarily "compresses" a multitude of other vital activities.

An individual who treats household chores as primary obligations—an attitude typical of poorly educated

women—often does this work at the expense of sleep. The weakening of this traditional, patriarchal view as the level of culture rises changes, as it were, the correlation of demands. Education instills in mothers a more “normal” structure of demands, a structure in which domestic concerns are not so exclusively important. In other words, raising the level of education arouses in married women a broader set of demands, demands relating to the most diverse aspects of vital activity. Among mothers, as among mature males or young people, education enhances interest in activities connected with culture. But among married women, education accentuates a number of demands that in other groups do not depend on level of education. Specifically, reduction in time spent on household chores leads among women of this group to an increase in time spent sleeping and caring for oneself.

It is quite possible, of course, that lack of an increase in the duration of the cultural life among married women of the final educational group is of a random character and is caused by the small number of observations in this category. However, we observe the same slow expansion of the “time universe” of culture under the influence of education among working women of other groups, too.

In this respect, the data on the time allocation of working women with special education may be considered to confirm the general tendency. Even if the quantitative measurements in the latter group are not adequately reliable, the nature of the phenomenon is quite definite: an excessive domestic burden not only limits the cultural life of married women at any given level of education, it also constrains the rate of increase of cultural life (relative to other family-age groups) in the transition to each succeeding educational level.

This supposition is supported by the fact that answers to the question on the use of hypothetical additional time changed in a manner almost identical for men and women in the transition from lower to average levels of education. The same was true for both men and women in the transition from middle to highest levels of the cultural series. Moreover, the percentage of answers indicating a desire to use supplementary time for activities connected in one way or another

with culture grows somewhat faster among women than among men: among men, from 47-48 per cent to 51-52 per cent, among women, from about 45 to about 55 per cent.

In other words, it is not just at separate stages but over the whole course of our comparison that increased education arouses interest in and desire for cultural activities among women at least as much as among husbands. And if the real expansion of cultural life is slower among married women than among husbands, if it does not absorb even the amount of time made available through the reduction of housework, it is because of the enormous volume of domestic concerns that women shoulder, the lack of time to satisfy fully a multitude of necessary demands, including sleep, care for oneself, and so on. There is every reason to suppose that the development of the service sector will in the immediate future substantially alter this state of affairs. Correspondingly, the circumstances that complicate married women's participation in culture and reduce the effect of education on married women as compared to other groups of working people, will disappear.

Under such favorable circumstances, the effect of education in the realm of culture, unconstrained by the excessive burden of domestic work, will appear with full force. We should recall, too, that the inadequacies of women's time allocation constrain the improvement of the daily routine of many men. Eliminating such inadequacies will enhance the influence of educational factors on the entire population. It is evident that the expansion of cultural life when the effect of education is "pure" and not restricted by extraneous circumstances will proceed at an even faster pace than at present.

In this light, figures on the duration of cultural life among married women are a limited deviation from the general tendency. On the other hand, data on males and youth illustrate the primary result of the action of education on everyday behavior—the interconnection of the reduction of activities in providing services for the family and the simultaneous increase in activities dedicated to participation in culture. The present pace of this process among males and youth, its acceleration at higher educational levels, as well as confidence in the rapid improvement of public

services, allows one to suppose that, in the life of the next generation, activities connected with culture will absorb most of the time free from work and the satisfaction of everyday physiological needs.

As is the case among middle cultural groups, expansion of everyday cultural life among highly educated workers goes hand in hand with an increasing complexity in cultural life. This is most strongly and clearly manifest in the increase of the number of workers combining labor with study. True, the increasing time spent in correspondence and evening study is often apparent only when youth and married people of the third and fourth educational groups are compared separately (see Table 14). This is natural, for the third and fourth groups of this series contain quite different proportions of youth—the percentage of youth is much greater among workers with a good formal education than among worker-specialists. However, when standardized comparisons are made, the dimensions of the changes are fully apparent. The duration of time given to study grows in all four groups examined. It is worth noting that the increase is especially strong among married workers (an increase of about two times), reaching an average of 4 hours a week among married women with specialized education and 10 hours for men. Among youth, the relative increase is slower, but the absolute magnitude of study time among highly educated young workers is even greater than among married people—more than 12 hours a week for young women, more than 17 hours for young men. (The great difference in the figures for young men and women is evidently of a random nature; it is most likely caused by the small base of data for these categories.)

These figures indicate that, among the worker-specialists surveyed, approximately 20 per cent of the married women are students, as are about 50 per cent of the married men and practically 60-70 per cent of the youth.

In other words, at a certain educational level, approximately complete secondary or specialized secondary, combining work with study becomes a mass, or, at the least, widespread activity not only among youth, but in all the basic strata of the working population. The expansion of study among married worker-specialists shows how edu-

cation in practice—and not just in theoretical prognoses—is beginning to turn from a special, preparatory, as it were, period of life into a permanent activity attending the individual over the whole course of his working life.

The heightened intensity of evening and correspondence study among highly educated workers is interesting in one other respect: it makes it possible to understand better the complex system of influences through which increased education aids the further spread of organized study in the working milieu. Up to now, we have spoken mostly of education's direct influence, of how a higher level of culture creates an interest in new activities. But it is also necessary to take into account that, in modern society, education is directly linked with the nature of work. Attaining a certain level of education almost always leads to more complex work; more complex work, in turn, makes additional demands on one's general educational background. Education, consequently, can affect the combination of work with study not only directly, but also indirectly, by changing the individual's professional standing.

The great expansion of evening and correspondence study precisely in the group with the highest education is undoubtedly connected with the more complex work performed by this group; this phenomenon can hardly be considered accidental. Rather, the tendency to universal study among highly educated workers stems precisely from the combination of the direct and indirect effects of education, from the fact that the general influence of a higher level of culture is augmented by the "pressure" of the worker-specialist's position in industry. So this tendency is proof not only of the direct, but also of the indirect influence of education on the development of evening and correspondence study.

The expanded role of evening and correspondence study is not the only manifestation of the increasing complexity of the cultural life characteristic of the mode of life of worker-specialists. It is noteworthy that this process encompasses not only the realm of the organized everyday cultural life but also the unregulated, free part. It is quite indicative in the given case that in all family-age groups of highly educated workers, time spent watching television is reduced. Even among married men, who usually allot television

the maximum amount of time, those with a high level of education spend on the average less than 7 hours per week watching television (at the preceding educational level—more than 10 hours). These figures indicate a sharp decline in the all-consuming nature of television, the disappearance of the habit of unthinkingly filling free time with any television program. This habit is replaced by an elective, if you will, conscious, purposeful selection of specific television programs that meet the interests of the given individual.

Reduction of the role of television is the more important because it is combined with increased reading. The majority of worker-specialists spend 6-7 hours a week reading books and magazines; only among mothers is reading time limited to 3 hours. However, in relative terms the role of reading is fairly uniform: books and newspapers take up, for all categories of worker-specialists, 40-50 per cent of the time given to free participation in culture, time not connected with organized study. Moreover, reading becomes more uniform among men and women. For men, the additional reading time goes to books, newspaper reading even being somewhat reduced; for women at this level of culture, newspaper reading becomes more intense. Properly speaking, only within the highest educational group do the majority of working women read newspapers.

In general, everyday cultural life among people with specialized education is less influenced than is the case in lower cultural groups by family-age status and sex. We should recall that such differences reach their maximum in the middle cultural groups. Given a sufficiently high educational level, the influence of culture "outweighs", as it were, the effect of the individual's family-age status. The behavior of people with a high education acquires, especially in their cultural life, uniform features, despite different positions in the life cycle.

A natural manifestation of the increasing complexity of cultural life at the highest stages of our educational series, a manifestation augmenting the shift from television to reading, is the growing popularity of the theater. While in the transition from the lowest to average educational groups the increased interest in movies is striking, in the

higher groups a shift toward the theater is especially noticeable. Among workers with secondary and specialized education, 60-65 per cent had gone to the theater in the year preceding our study (as against 30-50 per cent in the lower educational categories). It is curious that increased interest in the theater is observed among women at the third level of the cultural series, while among men such interest becomes distinct only at the fourth level.

Trends in life style. We would stress that in the everyday routine of worker-specialists, theater and sophisticated public entertainment in general do not displace but rather supplement movies, just as books do not nullify interest in television but only make it more conscious and rational. Data on time expenditures in the highly educated groups confirm that the increasing complexity of cultural life stems primarily from the introduction into the daily routine of a multitude of varied, mutually complementary types of activity—from organized study to light, diverting entertainment. In this sense, one may speak not only of increasing complexity, but also of a gradual harmonization of the whole daily routine, and of the life style as a whole, not just of everyday participation in culture. Some features of the time allocation of highly educated workers testify to the realization of such expectations in practice. The increased role of the small group in the system of personal contacts has already been mentioned and this harmoniously supplements and enhances the formal organization of the individual's production and cultural activity.

The trend toward harmonious improvement of the mode of life is also manifest in the very significant civic activity of highly educated workers. 70 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women are constantly performing civic work. Very indicative, too, are isolated data on the annual vacations among highly educated workers. More than 40 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women of this group spent the vacation preceding the survey in resorts, sanatoria, on tours, and so on. In the lower educational groups, no more than 20 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women spent their vacations in specialized institutions or on tours and excursions; in point of fact, the simplest vacations, those spent at home, were

typical of 50-60 per cent of those surveyed in the less educated milieu. We should note that the frequency of sophisticated, modern forms of vacation, especially tourism, increases in the transition to special education much more rapidly than in the transition from one level of material well-being to another (with increase of per capita income 2-2.5 times, the percentage of those who spent time in resorts, sanatoria, and touring increased from 17 per cent to 26 per cent among men, from 12 per cent to 17 per cent among women). People with low incomes are the first to be given free or cut-rate accommodations at resorts, sanatoria and other specialized institutions. In this respect, increased education is a much more powerful means for affecting the mode of life than are material factors.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the examples cited above show only individual, limited manifestations of the trend to a harmonious development of the mode of life. This is quite understandable. Though in a certain sense education acts on behavior more powerfully than increased income, such influence taken in isolation, in and of itself, cannot lead to a thorough transformation of the daily routine. A rise in culture has a direct effect on human aspirations and interests, not actual behavior. These aspirations are embodied in behavior only to the extent that other necessary conditions are operative. Specifically, for a full harmonization of the daily routine even of those groups whose level of education is sufficiently high, many of the necessary prerequisites, including the material-economic and organizational, are still lacking.

In this respect, it is extremely useful to supplement information on the actual time allocation of worker-specialists with materials characterizing their aspirations as such. For this, we will turn once more to the answers of Taganrog workers to the question on the use to which they would probably put additional time. We shall compare, in particular, the corresponding answers of those workers who had finished 4-6 grades and those with technician's diplomas.¹

¹ These groups (with 4-6-grade educations and with a specialized secondary education) are quite close in their family-age make-up; they are, as it were, naturally adjusted, so their comparison is the most indicative.

Comparison shows that high education engenders not simply more complex needs, but an urge to a harmonious variety of activities. Besides shifts to which we have already referred (widespread desire for study, renunciation of an orientation primarily to television, the aspiration to combine the latter with increased reading and interest in public performances, recognition of the importance of civic activity), the desires of worker-specialists show an increased understanding of the need for special and purposeful efforts in raising children and also a heightened interest in sport. In effect, the distribution of desires signifies that an appreciable number of highly educated workers have harmonious and varied interests that encompass the whole range of human demands—spiritual and material, mental and physical, social and individual. And if not today, then tomorrow, as the Party's goals of a sharp improvement in the national well-being and a thorough development of the service sector are implemented, the harmonious structure of the interests of highly educated workers will lead to a greater harmony in their real (and not just potential) behavior.

Of course, the development of demands, determined, as Lenin expressed it, by their constant elevation in the course of historical progress, makes it impossible for all demands of all members of society to be fully secured by the material potential of the social organism at any given moment. In this sense, a better daily routine will always demand not only increased education (and increased culture in general), but also the development of material, organizational and other conditions. However, the relative importance of these factors will change. In a society replete with material goods, culture takes an ever more important place among the living conditions directly affecting everyday behavior.

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND PROBLEMS IN THE DAILY ROUTINE

Concluding our description of the features of the daily routine of different educational groups, it is appropriate to turn attention not only to the force and efficacy of changes

taking place under the influence of culture. Comparison of the data on time allocation of people with different levels of education, especially when this comparison encompasses all the steps of our cultural series—from semi-literacy to high education—shows that the development of culture, a development securing an improvement in the mode of life and laying the basis for overcoming a multitude of today's difficulties, at the same time poses a number of new problems for society. Only by recognizing this feature of cultural progress (as of social progress as a whole) is it possible successfully to utilize the increased level of education to consciously and purposefully develop social relations in general and mode of life in particular.

Combining work and study. The materials analyzed above give us an idea of the nature of many problems that ensue from the rise in the level of education. Thus, we have seen that increased education turns organized study from an activity characteristic of a specific, preparatory, as it were, period of life, into a permanent feature of vital activity, at least in the course of one's working life. The complexity of the problems stemming therefrom is quite clear. Not to mention the obvious necessity of considerably expanding the educational system, continuous study inevitably increases the costs of evening education within the daily routine, costs dealt with before.

Bringing organized study into the lives of a large part of the employed population will make practically impossible the present forms of combining work with study, forms based on an extreme reduction of many important aspects of everyday activity. Today, a certain number of the members of society can for a certain period of time agree to a limitation of cultural life and leisure, to reduced contact with children, can adjust to a loss of sleep; all members of society over the whole course of their lives (or at least the majority, for most of their lives) cannot so proceed. It would seem that in the future, adult education will be viewed as socially necessary activity and so the corresponding expenditures of time will be fully or partially included within the normal working day. Naturally, such an approach to combining labor and study requires adjustments in the whole national economy, and therefore it can be realized

only over an extended period of time. But it is because of the seriousness of this step that it is important to begin preparing for it in good time.

"Under-education" in conditions of a high level of culture. Another type of problems engendered by increased education is connected with the position of that part of the population that is culturally backward. As already noted, poorly educated workers today comprise a minority of urbanites, an especially small minority among younger age groups. The attainment by the overwhelming majority of factory and office workers of a sound or good education, and the sharp reduction on this basis of the proportion of people with only the rudiments of formal education, is indisputable evidence of enormous historical progress, a most important achievement of the socialist cultural revolution. It would be naive, however, not to see the contradictions of progress, not to note that making the poorly educated part of the population a minority, though removing important obstacles from the path of social progress, does create some additional difficulties.

In fact, a low level of education is felt by the individual completely differently in a society where the majority have little schooling than in a milieu where almost all around have a sound or good education. In the first case, semi-literacy is felt, in effect, to be a normal state of affairs, in the second—a deviation from the norm. And the objective status of the individual is in the two cases different. When the majority of the population has a low level of education, the dominant production processes are inevitably those in which the labor of poorly educated persons can be employed—in such a society, any other economic life is impossible. In a society with a high level of education, there is no need to maintain either a "backward" production sector, or jobs suited for persons with a low level of education. Poorly educated persons may in this case be social outsiders, people not organically included in the production and cultural "structure" of the social organism.

It is understandable that cultural and labor "deviance" is engendered in the individual—perhaps unconsciously—by a feeling of dissatisfaction, and this pushes him onto the path of anti-social behavior. Of course, in Soviet society,

the gap between the level of education, even of a small part of the population, and the state of production is never such that the culturally less developed strata of working people cannot find a place in the national economy. However, the unfolding of the scientific and technological revolution will in the foreseeable future close off opportunities for socially useful labor by people without a good school background.

Moreover, cultural "inferiority", lack of adaptation to modern forms of everyday life, is felt quite sharply by poorly educated people even under present conditions. Semi-literate working people, who, as we noted at the beginning of this chapter, comprise only a very small percentage of city dwellers, provide a quite significant portion of the law breakers. A poorly educated minority, even though quite small, creates a social problem of no small dimensions. And the higher the majority's level of culture, the greater the problem of the "under-educated" minority.

Over the course of centuries, humanity has confronted the problem of a highly educated minority, an elite cut off from the illiterate and semi-literate majority. Cultural progress under socialism in the epoch of the scientific and technological revolution creates a completely new situation: the problem of the poorly educated minority and its relation to the well-educated majority becomes quite urgent.

The moral and political unity of Soviet society—a unity based on the dominance of socialist production relations—and the mass character and democratism of the Soviet system of education have furthered the harmonious co-operation of the mass of working people and the "most enlightened", as Lenin put it, elements of the people. There is no doubt that, under socialism (as distinct from capitalism), all the objective prerequisites are at hand for resolving, too, the problem of the poorly educated minority. Socialist society can forestall the appearance of cultural outsiders in its midst. However, constant and purposeful efforts are needed, and above all a clear understanding of the social necessity of a sufficiently high level of education not only for the majority or even the overwhelming majority, but for practically all working people. It is necessary to understand that this is no simple "technical" problem of expanding

education to encompass some new layers of the population. The preceding exposition shows that the solution of this problem presupposes both the breaking of habits and traditions and the overcoming of socio-psychological barriers, i.e., it is not simply an economic or organizational task, but one of the tasks of social management.

The "educational surplus". Another group of problems stems from the change in the general nature of the daily routine, directly, as it were, from its improvement. Properly speaking, we see here with especial clarity the nature of the non-antagonistic contradictions engendered by cultural progress under socialism, the distinction of these contradictions both from problems of the inadequate development of culture and from the antinomies of the mass culture of modern capitalism.

The objective trend toward the formation of a more refined system of everyday behavior among people with better education inevitably—though not always overtly—finds expression in the awareness of the majority of working people. The fact that the more educated individual, everything else being equal, lives more rationally, meaningfully and harmoniously, that his daily routine is connected with more refined mores and norms of everyday behavior, cannot but make itself felt in the mass consciousness and hierarchy of values. This circumstance further increases the urge to high education in Soviet society. The mass conception of the desirable and necessary, the "proper", level of education is formed not only in connection with the desire for more interesting and better-paid work, but also as a result of the action of many other socio-cultural factors, including the influence of the improvement of the daily routine with increased education, an improvement obvious to a multitude of people. True, the action of this latter factor is often indirect rather than direct.

The connection between an improved mode of life and a high level of education is perceived by mature persons, who have accumulated experience of life, sooner than by youth. Therefore such action is realized primarily through parental influence, through the attempt to instill an orientation to a high "educational norm" in their children. More than 70 per cent of the workers surveyed in Taganrog feel

that their children should obtain a higher education. Understandably, however, this indirect influence acts just as powerfully as the conscious awareness of the advantages of education. In the final analysis, the dependence of the daily routine on education is one of the reasons that the level of education that is socially necessary (and what is more important—the level of education that the population deems necessary) is increasing faster than the level needed for production.¹

The fact that the social demand for education runs somewhat ahead of technical necessity proper has a certain positive import. This situation accelerates social progress and is conducive to, as we have seen, a rise in culture and a refinement of the daily routine. Moreover, the aspiration of working people for education favors technical progress itself, for the further development of technical progress will be noticeably eased by the "educational surplus" existing in Soviet society. From this point of view, the fact that the level of education outstrips the needs of production is one of the advantages of socialism in implementing the scientific and technological revolution. At the same time, the present gap between the socially necessary level of education and the level needed for production creates certain difficulties. These difficulties stem from the impossibility to satisfy the aspirations of all who want to obtain higher education, from the discrepancy between the nature of the work of some working people and their general educational background and so on.

These examples hardly exhaust the list of problems in the daily routine advanced by cultural progress. Strictly speaking, we have touched only on those that are comparatively fully reflected in data on time allocation. Yet it is enough to recall the connection between the development of culture and the law of growing requirements for it to be

¹ On the difference between education necessary for production and necessary for society, see, for more detail, Z. I. Fainburg and V. M. Likhachev, "Education and the Cultural Level of Workers at Industrial Enterprises", in *Social Problems of Labor and Production*. A Soviet-Polish Comparative Study, Moscow-Warsaw, 1969, p. 283 (in Russian).

obvious that study of other segments of the mode of life, analysis, let us say, of consumption, would reveal a series of special problems and tasks also engendered by change in the cultural-educational level of working people, but substantially different from those examined above.

However, we will here limit ourselves to the fact that such problems exist, since their analysis lies beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, on a concrete sociological level, a detailed analysis (or even enumeration) of the problems connected with the progress of culture is simply impossible: these problems are too mobile and variable, every advance in culture changes their make-up and content, eliminates some tasks and advances others.

It is more important to stress once again that such problems are bound to arise as the level of culture rises and the mode of life improves. Nevertheless, it is not just a matter of culture and education. The daily routine is subject to the general laws of social progress: perfecting the mode of life, especially under socialism, does not make social relations and the patterns of behavior that make it up simpler, but more complex. It is natural that a more complex system engenders new problems; and it also gives a "problem character" to many phenomena that before, in less complicated circumstances, were an ordinary element of social life. Perfecting social relations leads not to the elimination of social problems, but to a change in their content. The type of social problems that society faces is in its own way an index of the social development of society. With advanced culture and improved well-being, the unresolved problems of the Soviet mode of life, socio-cultural problems in particular, concentrate ever more clearly around permanent study by adults, the decrease of the less educated groups of the population, the provision of higher education for all who want it. In the final analysis, this testifies to the enormous achievements of socialism, to the fact that the Soviet people are approaching communism.

CONCLUSION

In summarizing our research, we would first of all like to stress the importance of studying the daily routine and mode of life of urban workers. While the working class as a whole, with its discipline and organization, commitment and dedication to its ideals, and political consciousness—characteristics that make it the vanguard of Soviet working people—holds within itself the main features and tendencies of the development of socialist society, the urban working class is the most progressive, developed and organized stratum of this vanguard.

As we know the convergence of all classes and social strata of Soviet society takes place on the basis of an ideology expressing the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class. As a matter of course, the further development of the theoretical basis of this ideology—Marxist-Leninist teachings—must include the study of the objective and subjective processes originating in the working class itself, an illumination of the progressive tendencies in these processes and attention to any negative features and shortcomings.

Studying the worker's mode of life and related living conditions is one of the most reliable ways to highlight these processes. Essentially, such an approach puts into practice a most fruitful tradition of Marxist theory—rejection of utopian hypotheses, a rejection, as Engels said, "once and for all of handy propositions". It acknowledges only those premises that "are precise conclusions drawn from historical facts and processes of development, and outside

the framework of these facts and processes they have no theoretical or practical value".¹

It is this approach that can ensure that practical measures correspond to the ultimate socio-political goals of the new society. A sober, careful analysis of the trends in the development of the mode of life of social groups is a necessary prerequisite for scientific social planning that embraces all sides of the life of the social organism, in all its territorial, industrial, socio-political and cultural aspects. Social planning based on serious study of processes in the living conditions of working people helps us to avoid apathy in the face of the spontaneity of social development and subjectivistic, voluntaristic attempts to ignore the objective tendencies of this development. Only by highlighting the regularities of the development of a society on the road to communism and of harmonious development of personality can we resolve the problems of social development and realize the program of a communist education for working people.

¹ Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, Berlin, 1967, Bd. 36, S. 429. In the same vein, Lenin notes: "There is no trace of an attempt on Marx's part to make up a utopia, to indulge in idle guess-work about what cannot be known. Marx treated the question of communism in the same way as a naturalist would treat the question of the development of, say, a new biological variety, once he knew that it had originated in such and such a way and was changing in such and such a definite direction." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 458.)

APPENDIX

Tables

Table 1

Basic time expenditures of workers surveyed
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of activity | Women | Men |
|---|-------|-------|
| Labor in social production | 39.40 | 40.10 |
| Activity directly connected with production | 9.50 | 13.00 |
| Housework | 27.20 | 11.40 |
| Activities with children | 5.50 | 6.00 |
| Extrafamilial social intercourse | 3.50 | 6.30 |
| Daily cultural activity | 11.50 | 19.50 |
| Sleeping, eating, caring for oneself, idle time | 60.30 | 66.30 |
| Other | 9.10 | 4.20 |

Table 2

Distribution of daily activities by frequency*

| Frequency of activity | Women | Men |
|--|---|---|
| Daily activities (activities which over 2/3 of the group performed) | (95) Cooking (89) Housecleaning (88) Shopping (82) Caring for clothes | (75) Watching television (74) Shopping (72) Reading newspapers (69) Idle time |
| Frequent activities (activities which 1/4 to 2/3 of the group performed) | (64) Watching television (60) Idle time (50) Caring for children (49) Reading books (49) Raising children (42) Visiting and receiving guests (37) Movies, theater (32) Reading newspapers (30) Walks without children | (58) Visiting and receiving guests (55) Reading books (51) Raising children (47) Cooking (46) Housecleaning (44) Walks without children (40) Gardening, repairs (34) Movies, theater (29) Caring for children |

Table 2 (continued)

| Frequency of activity | Women | Men |
|---|---|--|
| Less frequent activities (activities performed by less than 1/4 of the group) | (17) Study (17) Gardening, repairs (13) Amateur activities (10) Civic activities (4) Out-of-town recreation (3) Sports (1) Non-athletic games | (22) Non-athletic games (20) Study (17) Caring for clothes (16) Amateur activities (16) Sports (8) Out-of-town recreation (8) Civic activities |

* Numbers in parentheses are percentages of the group which performed the activities listed during the three-day period of our study.

Table 3

Comparative urgency (variation) in time expenditures

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | Types of time expenditures* | |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Women | Men |
| I | (70) Cooking | (100) Watching television |
| II | (90) Shopping | (100) Reading newspapers |
| III | (90) Housecleaning | (130) Shopping |
| IV | (100) Caring for clothes | (130) Idle time |
| V | (130) Watching television | (160) Reading books |
| VI | (150) Caring for children | (160) Raising children |
| VII | (170) Idle time | (180) Visiting and receiving guests |

Table 3 (continued)

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | Types of time expenditures* | |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Women | Men |
| VIII | (170) Visiting and receiving guests | (180) Cooking |
| IX | (190) Raising children | (190) Gardening, repairs |
| X | (190) Reading books | (200) Walks without children |
| XI | (210) Reading newspapers | (200) Housecleaning |
| XII | (220) Movies | (200) Movies |
| XIII | (250) Walks without children | (230) Study |
| XIV | (270) Study | (250) Caring for children |
| XV | (360) Gardening, repairs | (300) Non-athletic games |
| XVI | (400) Civic activities | (380) Out-of-town recreation |
| XVII | (450) Theater | (430) Sports |
| XVIII | (620) Out-of-town recreation | (450) Civic activities |
| XIX | (750) Sports | (460) Caring for clothes |
| XX | (1250) Non-athletic games | (740) Theater |

* Variations of time expenditures on given activities are listed in parentheses in percentages.

Time expenditures by age-family status groups
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | WOMEN | | | | | | MEN | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| | Un-married youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | Elderly |
| | | | Nuclear family | Extended family | Broken homes | | | | Nuclear family | Extended family | |
| <i>Housework</i> | 17.40 | 24.25 | 32.40 | 30.50 | 26.15 | 29.15 | 5.40 | 12.10 | 12.10 | 12.15 | 18.00 |
| daily housework | 16.50 | 23.45 | 31.10 | 28.35 | 25.30 | 28.50 | 3.20 | 6.20 | 6.10 | 6.35 | 10.40 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 00.50 | 00.40 | 1.30 | 2.15 | 00.45 | 00.25 | 2.20 | 5.50 | 6.00 | 5.40 | 7.20 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 00.20 | 00.10 | 8.35 | 9.00 | 10.00 | 2.50 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 6.30 | 5.55 | 1.20 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 6.55 | 5.35 | 2.40 | 2.30 | 2.10 | 4.25 | 12.00 | 7.10 | 5.25 | 4.55 | 4.50 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 3.00 | 1.10 | 00.20 | 00.25 | 00.15 | 00.25 | 7.25 | 2.05 | 1.00 | 1.05 | 2.35 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 3.55 | 4.20 | 2.20 | 2.00 | 1.50 | 4.00 | 3.55 | 3.50 | 3.45 | 2.15 | 2.00 |
| non-athletic games | 00.00 | 00.05 | — | 00.05 | 00.05 | — | 00.40 | 1.15 | 00.40 | 1.35 | 00.15 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 21.05 | 11.40 | 7.50 | 9.45 | 6.45 | 6.25 | 23.35 | 21.35 | 18.40 | 19.25 | 16.35 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 7.35 | 5.20 | 6.00 | 7.00 | 3.45 | 5.15 | 9.25 | 11.40 | 13.55 | 14.35 | 15.35 |
| reading newspapers | 00.45 | 00.35 | 00.30 | 00.40 | 00.30 | 00.45 | 1.15 | 2.35 | 2.40 | 2.40 | 3.00 |
| reading books and magazines | 4.35 | 1.45 | 1.15 | 1.05 | 1.00 | 00.30 | 3.35 | 2.25 | 1.50 | 1.40 | 00.40 |
| watching television | 2.15 | 3.00 | 4.15 | 5.15 | 2.15 | 4.00 | 4.35 | 6.40 | 9.25 | 10.15 | 11.55 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 3.20 | 00.50 | 00.35 | 00.30 | 00.50 | 00.20 | 2.55 | 1.30 | 00.35 | 00.40 | 00.25 |
| amateur activities | 1.05 | 2.00 | 00.20 | 00.45 | 00.45 | 00.50 | 1.15 | 00.55 | 00.50 | 00.35 | 00.30 |
| study and self-education | 9.05 | 3.30 | 1.00 | 1.30 | 1.25 | — | 10.05 | 7.30 | 3.20 | 3.35 | — |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.30 | 00.05 | 00.25 | 00.05 | — | 00.10 | 1.55 | 00.50 | 1.25 | 1.15 | — |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.50 | 00.20 | 00.15 | 00.15 | 00.10 | 00.10 | 00.30 | 1.20 | 00.40 | 00.50 | 00.25 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.25 | 3.30 | 1.15 | 1.20 | 1.15 | 4.50 | 2.00 | 1.35 | 2.45 | 2.05 | 5.30 |

Time expenditures by age-family status groups within education classifications
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | WOMEN | | | | | | MEN | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| | Four-grade education or less | | | Five-grade to seven-grade education | | | Five-grade to seven-grade education | | | Eight-grade to ten-grade education | | |
| | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Pa-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly |
| <i>Housework</i> | 26.10 | 36.00 | 29.20 | 19.30 | 31.45 | 26.50 | 5.25 | 14.20 | 16.50 | 6.05 | 11.05 | 17.35 |
| daily housework | 25.30 | 34.20 | 28.40 | 19.05 | 30.20 | 26.35 | 4.05 | 7.25 | 7.50 | 2.55 | 5.35 | 11.45 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 00.40 | 1.40 | 00.40 | 00.25 | 1.25 | 00.15 | 1.20 | 6.55 | 9.00 | 3.10 | 5.30 | 5.50 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 1.40 | 9.10 | 3.10 | 00.20 | 7.35 | 00.55 | — | 6.15 | 1.15 | 00.20 | 6.35 | 00.40 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 4.15 | 1.40 | 4.15 | 6.25 | 2.55 | 7.10 | 11.25 | 5.15 | 5.50 | 11.30 | 5.20 | 3.40 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 2.50 | 00.10 | 00.05 | 2.05 | 00.10 | 00.45 | 7.25 | 00.55 | 3.25 | 7.05 | 1.00 | 2.20 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 1.25 | 1.30 | 4.00 | 4.15 | 2.45 | 6.25 | 4.00 | 3.15 | 2.25 | 3.40 | 3.25 | 00.40 |
| non-athletic games | — | — | 00.10 | 00.05 | — | — | — | 1.05 | — | 00.40 | 00.50 | 00.40 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 11.10 | 6.45 | 3.30 | 19.30 | 7.30 | 12.05 | 25.00 | 16.50 | 17.00 | 23.35 | 21.20 | 22.25 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 7.30 | 5.45 | 3.05 | 8.30 | 6.00 | 9.25 | 10.15 | 14.50 | 15.40 | 9.20 | 14.50 | 21.20 |
| reading newspapers | 00.25 | 00.20 | 00.25 | 00.40 | 00.25 | 1.15 | 00.40 | 2.15 | 6.00 | 1.30 | 2.55 | 2.05 |
| reading books and magazines | 1.35 | 00.45 | 00.10 | 6.10 | 1.25 | 1.20 | 4.25 | 1.45 | 1.00 | 3.20 | 1.40 | 00.30 |
| watching television | 5.30 | 4.40 | 2.30 | 1.40 | 4.10 | 6.50 | 5.10 | 10.45 | 8.40 | 4.30 | 10.10 | 18.40 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 2.20 | 00.25 | 00.10 | 3.35 | 00.25 | 00.50 | 3.55 | 00.30 | 00.25 | 2.15 | 00.45 | 1.05 |
| amateur activities | 1.20 | 00.30 | 00.15 | 1.00 | 00.40 | 1.50 | 2.25 | 00.50 | 00.55 | 1.05 | 00.30 | — |
| study and self-education | — | 00.05 | — | 6.20 | 00.25 | — | 8.25 | 00.40 | — | 10.55 | 5.15 | — |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | — | 00.05 | 00.10 | 00.10 | 00.15 | — | 2.30 | 1.15 | — | 2.15 | 1.20 | — |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | — | 00.20 | — | 00.50 | 00.20 | 00.10 | 00.10 | 00.30 | 00.25 | 00.30 | 00.30 | 00.50 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 4.15 | 2.05 | 7.00 | 1.35 | 2.35 | 2.35 | 2.50 | 2.45 | 3.30 | 1.35 | 1.55 | 2.40 |

Time expenditures by age-family status within groups classified according to per capita income
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | WOMEN | | | | | | MEN | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|
| | 51-75 rubles per capita | | | More than 75 rubles per capita | | | 51-75 rubles per capita | | | More than 75 rubles per capita | | |
| | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly | Un-married youths | Par-ents with minor chil-dren | Elder-ly |
| <i>Housework</i> | 16.40 | 31.15 | 20.00 | 18.25 | 28.30 | 31.00 | 5.05 | 11.45 | 16.50 | 5.10 | 11.50 | 19.00 |
| daily housework | 16.25 | 29.55 | 20.00 | 17.35 | 27.35 | 30.45 | 3.00 | 5.30 | 10.00 | 2.45 | 7.20 | 10.00 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 00.15 | 1.20 | — | 00.50 | 00.55 | 00.15 | 2.05 | 6.15 | 6.50 | 2.25 | 4.30 | 9.00 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | — | 8.50 | 4.55 | 00.35 | 7.35 | 1.15 | — | 8.05 | 1.25 | 00.20 | 5.00 | 00.15 |
| <i>Extrafamilial intercourse</i> | 7.15 | 2.55 | 6.50 | 5.25 | 2.10 | 4.05 | 15.15 | 5.40 | 3.05 | 11.35 | 4.40 | 5.25 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 4.00 | 00.20 | — | 2.25 | 00.05 | 00.35 | 10.35 | 1.05 | 1.30 | 6.10 | 1.15 | 4.00 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 3.05 | 2.35 | 6.50 | 3.00 | 2.00 | 3.30 | 4.20 | 3.25 | 00.50 | 4.35 | 2.55 | 1.25 |
| non-athletic games | 00.10 | — | — | — | 00.05 | — | 00.20 | 1.10 | 00.45 | 00.50 | 00.30 | — |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 23.05 | 9.10 | 9.35 | 20.15 | 13.00 | 7.50 | 20.30 | 19.00 | 22.05 | 23.50 | 21.55 | 12.55 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 7.55 | 6.40 | 8.50 | 7.30 | 7.30 | 6.10 | 6.40 | 13.55 | 19.45 | 10.20 | 14.10 | 12.40 |
| reading newspapers | 00.50 | 00.30 | 00.45 | 00.50 | 00.40 | 1.05 | 1.00 | 2.55 | 2.35 | 1.30 | 2.55 | 3.05 |
| reading books and magazines | 4.10 | 1.25 | 00.40 | 4.50 | 1.20 | 00.50 | 1.00 | 1.40 | 1.25 | 4.05 | 1.50 | 00.15 |
| watching television | 2.55 | 4.45 | 7.25 | 1.50 | 5.30 | 4.15 | 4.35 | 9.20 | 15.45 | 4.45 | 9.25 | 9.25 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 3.15 | 00.30 | 00.15 | 3.30 | 1.10 | 00.25 | 2.30 | 00.35 | 1.00 | 2.50 | 1.40 | 00.15 |
| amateur activities | 1.00 | 00.35 | 00.25 | 1.00 | 00.15 | 1.15 | 00.30 | 00.25 | 1.20 | 00.50 | 1.35 | — |
| study and self-education | 10.55 | 1.25 | — | 8.15 | 4.05 | — | 10.50 | 4.05 | — | 9.55 | 4.25 | — |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.10 | 00.10 | — | 00.35 | — | 00.15 | 2.05 | 1.00 | — | 2.20 | 1.45 | — |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.25 | 00.30 | 00.35 | 1.10 | 00.45 | 00.05 | — | 00.40 | 00.30 | 00.50 | 1.05 | 00.20 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.45 | 1.50 | 3.45 | 2.20 | 2.05 | 3.35 | 2.00 | 2.30 | 4.40 | 2.20 | 2.20 | 5.45 |

**Distribution of everyday activities by degree of frequency,
are percentages of the group which performed the**

| Degree of frequency | WOMEN | |
|---|---|--|
| | Unmarried youths | Young spouses |
| Daily activities (performed by 2/3 of the group) | (85) Housecleaning (83) Cooking (79) Movies, theater (74) Reading books (72) Shopping (68) Caring for clothes (67) Idle time | (94) Cooking (88) Housecleaning (85) Shopping (82) Caring for clothes (79) Idle time (70) Visiting and receiving guests |
| Frequent activities (performed by 1/4 to 2/3 of the group) | (62) Visiting and receiving guests (57) Walks without children (44) Watching television (39) Study (35) Reading newspapers | (53) Watching television (50) Reading books (45) Movies, theater (38) Walks without children (35) Reading newspapers |
| Less frequent activities (activities performed by less than 1/4 of the group) | (16) Amateur activities (15) Civic activities (12) Gardening, repairs (10) Raising children (9) Sports (7) Out-of-town recreation (6) Caring for children | (23) Study (18) Civic activities (18) Gardening, repairs (15) Amateur activities (6) Caring for children (6) Raising children |

Table 7

according to age-family status (numbers in parentheses activities listed during the three-day period of our study)

| Parents with minor children | | |
|---|--|--|
| Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes |
| (99) Cooking (93) Housecleaning (91) Shopping (90) Caring for clothes (78) Caring for children (76) Watching television (66) Raising children (51) Idle time (41) Visiting and receiving guests (32) Reading books (29) Reading newspapers (23) Gardening, repairs (18) Movies, theater (16) Walks without children (9) Amateur activities (8) Civic activities (7) Study (3) Out-of-town recreation (1) Non-athletic games (1) Sports | (97) Cooking (93) Housecleaning (86) Shopping (81) Caring for clothes (80) Caring for children (75) Watching television (65) Raising children (56) Idle time (41) Visiting and receiving guests (32) Gardening, repairs (28) Reading newspapers (27) Reading books (16) Walks without children (15) Movies, theater (13) Amateur activities (7) Civic activities (6) Study (5) Out-of-town recreation (3) Non-athletic games (1) Sports | (100) Cooking (93) Shopping (92) Housecleaning (85) Caring for clothes (69) Caring for children (66) Watching television (57) Idle time (54) Raising children (46) Visiting and receiving guests (41) Reading books (30) Movies, theater (25) Reading newspapers (21) Gardening, repairs (11) Walks without children (7) Study (6) Amateur activities (5) Civic activities (2) Sports (2) Out-of-town recreation |

| Degree of frequency | WOMEN | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| | Elderly | Unmarried youths | Young spouses |
| Daily activities (performed by 2/3 of the group) | (100) Cooking (95) Shopping (95) House-cleaning (83) Caring for clothes | (74) Idle time (72) Walks without children (69) Reading books (67) Visiting and receiving guests (65) Movies, theater | (80) Shopping (80) Reading newspapers (80) Idle time (70) Visiting and receiving guests (65) Walks without children |
| Frequent activities (performed by 1/4 to 2/3 of the group) | (60) Watching television (60) Idle time (40) Visiting and receiving guests (33) Reading books (30) Walks without children | (62) Watching television (59) Reading newspapers (54) Shopping (38) Study (28) House-cleaning (26) Sports (26) Gardening, repairs | (55) Reading books (55) Watching television (45) House-cleaning (45) Gardening, repairs (35) Cooking (35) Movies, theater (30) Non-athletic games |
| Less frequent activities (performed by less than 1/4 of the group) | (23) Reading newspapers (23) Movies, theater (16) Gardening, repairs (14) Caring for children (12) Raising children (12) Amateur activities (9) Civic activities (7) Sports (2) Out-of-town recreation (2) Non-athletic games | (23) Caring for clothes (23) Amateur activities (23) Cooking (18) Non-athletic games (10) Civic activities (8) Raising children (8) Out-of-town recreation | (20) Study (15) Caring for clothes (10) Out-of-town recreation (10) Civic activities (10) Amateur activities (5) Raising children (5) Caring for children |

Table 7 (continued)

MEN

| Parents with minor children | | Elderly |
|---|--|---|
| Nuclear families | Extended families | |
| (80) Watching television (74) Shopping (70) Reading newspapers (69) Idle time (67) Raising children | (81) Watching television (74) Reading newspapers (72) Raising children (70) Shopping (67) Idle time | (84) Watching television (73) Reading newspapers (68) Shopping |
| (57) Cooking (52) Reading books (51) Visiting and receiving guests (50) Housecleaning (48) Gardening, repairs (39) Caring for children (26) Walks without children | (60) Gardening, repairs (51) Reading books (46) Visiting and receiving guests (44) Housecleaning (39) Walks without children (37) Caring for children (30) Cooking (30) Movies, theater | (58) Cooking (58) Gardening, repairs (58) Walks without children (58) Visiting and receiving guests (58) Idle time (47) Housecleaning (37) Reading books (26) Raising children |
| (22) Movies, theater (20) Non-athletic games (17) Caring for clothes (16) Study (16) Amateur activities (12) Sports (10) Civic activities (8) Out-of-town recreation | (23) Non-athletic games (21) Study (21) Sports (16) Amateur activities (11) Out-of-town recreation (7) Caring for clothes (5) Civic activities | (12) Civic activities (21) Movies, theater (15) Non-athletic games (10) Caring for clothes (5) Caring for children (4) Sports |

Comparative urgency (variation) in time

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Unmarried youths | Young spouses |
| I | (91) Cooking | (59) Cooking |
| II | (117) Housecleaning | (85) Housecleaning |
| III | (123) Shopping | (98) Shopping |
| IV | (125) Reading books | (100) Caring for clothes |
| V | (130) Caring for clothes | (117) Visiting and receiving guests |
| VI | (136) Movies | (130) Movies |
| VII | (155) Walks without children | (133) Idle time |
| VIII | (156) Visiting and receiving guests | (143) Watching television |
| IX | (164) Study | (159) Reading books |
| X | (167) Idle time | (172) Reading newspapers |
| XI | (180) Watching television | (185) Study |
| XII | (193) Reading newspapers | (210) Walks without children |
| XIII | (302) Theater | (225) Civic activities |
| XIV | (307) Civic activities | (349) Gardening, repairs |
| XV | (392) Raising children | (415) Theater |
| XVI | (418) Out-of-town recreation | (456) Raising children |
| XVII | (427) Gardening, repairs | (524) Caring for children |
| XVIII | (500) Sports | — |
| XIX | (567) Caring for children | — |
| XX | (846) Non-athletic games | — |

Table 8

expenditures by age-family status*

WOMEN

Parents with minor children

Nuclear families

Extended families

Broken homes

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (46) Cooking | (84) Caring for clothes | (49) Cooking |
| (74) Shopping | (90) Shopping | (68) Shopping |
| (79) Caring for clothes | (90) House-cleaning | (87) House-cleaning |
| (80) Reading newspapers | (97) Caring for children | (97) Caring for clothes |
| (95) House-cleaning | (106) Watching television | (126) Caring for children |
| (97) Caring for children | (138) Raising children | (127) Watching television |
| (112) Watching television | (150) Idle time | (139) Idle time |
| (141) Raising children | (160) Visiting and receiving guests | (144) Raising children |
| (171) Visiting and receiving guests | (210) Cooking | (183) Visiting and receiving guests |
| (178) Idle time | (242) Gardening, repairs | (197) Reading books |
| (318) Reading books | (248) Reading newspapers | (222) Movies |
| (389) Gardening, repairs | (254) Reading books | (255) Reading newspapers |
| (344) Movies | (326) Walks without children | (296) Gardening, repairs |
| (348) Walks without children | (335) Civic activities | (335) Walks without children |
| (435) Civic activities | (478) Movies | (112) Study |
| (480) Study | (478) Out-of-town recreation | (503) Civic activities |
| (490) Theater | (527) Study | (635) Sports |
| (616) Out-of-town recreation | (543) Theater | (762) Out-of-town recreation |
| (1235) Non-athletic games | (775) Non-athletic games | (890) Theater |
| (1390) Sports | (1076) Sports | — |

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | WOMEN | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | Elderly | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | |
| I | (48) Cooking | (113) Movies | (84) Reading news-papers | |
| II | (79) Shopping | (117) Walks without children | (98) Idle time | |
| III | (92) House-cleaning | (118) Watching television | (100) Walks without children | |
| IV | (102) Caring for clothes | (119) Reading books | (119) Shopping | |
| V | (118) Watching television | (123) Idle time | (128) Visiting and receiving guests | |
| VI | (160) Visiting and receiving guests | (144) Study | (135) House-cleaning | |
| VII | (185) Idle time | (144) Reading newspapers | (142) Watching television | |
| VIII | (188) Reading books | (217) Cooking | (151) Reading books | |
| IX | (188) Walks without children | (225) Caring for clothes | (218) Cooking | |
| X | (218) Movies | (228) Shopping | (229) Movies | |
| XI | (269) Caring for children | (243) House-cleaning | (239) Gardening, repairs | |
| XII | (283) Reading news-papers | (244) Visiting and receiving guests | (251) Study | |
| XIII | (304) Raising children | (246) Gardening, repairs | (251) Non-athletic games | |
| XIV | (335) Gardening, repairs | (256) Sports | (291) Caring for clothes | |

Table 8 (continued)

| MEN | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Parents with minor children | | Elderly | |
| Nuclear families | | Extended families | |
| (96) Watching television | (88) Watching television | (85) Reading newspapers | |
| (114) Reading newspapers | (103) Reading newspapers | (85) Watching television | |
| (128) Shopping | (109) Raising children | (105) Shopping | |
| (135) Idle time | (127) Shopping | (109) Cooking | |
| (140) Visiting and receiving guests | (144) Gardening, repairs | (119) Gardening, repairs | |
| (143) Raising children | (147) Reading books | (135) Visiting and receiving guests | |
| (165) Cooking | (152) Idle time | (142) Idle time | |
| (170) Gardening, repairs | (159) Visiting and receiving guests | (147) Walks without children | |
| (186) Reading books | (182) Caring for children | (190) Raising children | |
| (209) Housecleaning | (191) Housecleaning | (197) Movies | |
| (213) Caring for children | (191) Walks without children | (199) Housecleaning | |
| (246) Walks without children | (204) Study | (214) Reading books | |
| (250) Movies | (238) Movies | (226) Non-athletic games | |
| (258) Study | (263) Non-athletic games | (255) Civic activities | |

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | WOMEN | | |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Elderly | Unmarried youths | Young spouses |
| XV | (388) Sports | (287) Non-athletic games | (329) Civic activities |
| XVI | (407) Civic activities | (302) Civic activities | (434) Out-of-town recreation |
| XVII | (640) Non-athletic games | (361) Out-of-town recreation | (434) Theater |
| XVIII | (666) Theater | (456) Raising children | (435) Caring for children |
| XIX | (905) Out-of-town recreation | (672) Theater | (436) Raising children |
| XX | — | — | — |

* Variations of time expenditures on given activities are listed in parentheses

Table 8 (continued)

| MEN | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Parents with minor children | | Elderly |
| Nuclear families | Extended families | |
| (266) Non-athletic games | (280) Sports | (316) Caring for clothes |
| (362) Out-of-town recreation | (290) Cooking | (418) Caring for children |
| (385) Civic activities | (316) Out-of-town recreation | (422) Sports |
| (444) Caring for clothes | (439) Civic activities | — |
| (485) Sports | (538) Theater | — |
| (640) Theater | (581) Caring for clothes | — |

ses in percentages.

Table 9
Time expenditures by monthly per capita family income
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | Men | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| | per capita income | per capita income | per capita income | per capita income | per capita income | per capita income |
| | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | more than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | more than 75 rubles |
| <i>Housework</i> | 32.40 | 28.40 | 22.20 | 12.50 | 11.50 | 9.30 |
| daily housework | 30.50 | 27.40 | 21.45 | 7.15 | 6.50 | 5.10 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 1.50 | 1.00 | 00.35 | 5.35 | 5.00 | 4.20 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 6.35 | 5.30 | 1.45 | 6.40 | 4.35 | 1.40 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 2.20 | 4.00 | 5.35 | 5.20 | 6.20 | 8.20 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 00.30 | 1.10 | 1.40 | 1.35 | 1.50 | 3.40 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 1.50 | 2.45 | 3.50 | 3.05 | 3.25 | 3.45 |
| non-athletic games | 00.00 | 00.05 | 00.05 | 00.40 | 1.05 | 00.55 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 7.10 | 12.00 | 16.40 | 17.50 | 19.55 | 21.55 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 4.50 | 6.55 | 6.50 | 13.35 | 13.40 | 11.50 |
| reading newspapers | 00.30 | 00.35 | 00.50 | 2.05 | 2.45 | 2.20 |
| reading books and magazines | 1.00 | 2.05 | 3.20 | 2.10 | 1.45 | 2.35 |
| watching television | 3.20 | 4.15 | 2.40 | 9.20 | 9.10 | 6.55 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 00.35 | 1.05 | 2.25 | 00.50 | 00.45 | 1.55 |
| amateur activities | 00.40 | 00.45 | 1.15 | 00.45 | 1.00 | 00.50 |
| study and self-education | 1.00 | 3.15 | 6.10 | 2.40 | 4.30 | 7.20 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.35 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 1.55 | 1.00 | 1.40 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.15 | 00.25 | 00.50 | 00.35 | 00.40 | 1.05 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.55 | 2.15 | 2.30 | 2.45 | 2.30 | 2.20 |

Table 10

Time expenditures by level of monthly per capita income according to age-family status groups
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | | | | Men | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | Parents with minor children | | | Unmarried youths | | | Parents with minor children | | | Unmarried youths | | |
| | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | |
| | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles |
| <i>Housework</i> | 33.45 | 31.15 | 28.30 | 17.25 | 16.40 | 18.25 | 12.50 | 11.45 | 11.50 | 8.05 | 5.05 | 5.10 |
| daily housework | 31.35 | 29.55 | 27.35 | 15.10 | 16.25 | 17.35 | 6.45 | 5.30 | 7.20 | 5.35 | 3.00 | 2.45 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 2.10 | 1.20 | 00.55 | 2.15 | 00.15 | 00.50 | 6.05 | 6.15 | 4.30 | 2.30 | 2.05 | 2.25 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 8.50 | 8.50 | 7.35 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.35 | 8.35 | 8.05 | 5.00 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.20 |
| <i>Extrafamilial intercourse</i> | 2.00 | 2.55 | 2.10 | 3.05 | 7.15 | 5.25 | 4.45 | 5.40 | 4.40 | 9.15 | 15.15 | 11.35 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 00.15 | 00.20 | 00.05 | 2.40 | 4.00 | 2.25 | 00.50 | 1.05 | 1.15 | 8.15 | 10.35 | 6.10 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 1.45 | 2.35 | 2.00 | 00.25 | 3.05 | 3.00 | 3.15 | 3.25 | 2.55 | 00.50 | 4.20 | 4.35 |
| non-athletic games | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.05 | 00.00 | 00.10 | 00.00 | 00.40 | 1.10 | 00.30 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 00.50 |

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | | | | Men | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | Parents with minor children | | | Unmarried youths | | | Parents with minor children | | | Unmarried youths | | |
| | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | | Per capita income | | |
| | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 6.20 | 9.10 | 13.00 | 20.00 | 23.05 | 20.15 | 17.25 | 19.00 | 21.55 | 26.55 | 20.30 | 23.50 |
| individual-domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| consumption of culture | 5.15 | 6.40 | 7.30 | 7.20 | 7.55 | 7.30 | 14.20 | 13.55 | 14.10 | 9.30 | 6.40 | 10.20 |
| reading newspapers | 00.35 | 00.30 | 00.40 | 00.40 | 00.50 | 00.50 | 2.20 | 2.55 | 2.55 | 00.30 | 1.00 | 1.30 |
| reading books and magazines | 00.45 | 1.25 | 1.20 | 4.10 | 4.10 | 4.50 | 2.00 | 1.40 | 1.50 | 5.05 | 1.00 | 4.05 |
| watching television | 3.55 | 4.45 | 5.30 | 2.30 | 2.55 | 1.50 | 10.00 | 9.20 | 9.25 | 3.55 | 4.35 | 4.45 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 00.25 | 00.30 | 1.10 | 2.40 | 3.15 | 3.30 | 00.35 | 00.35 | 1.40 | 3.30 | 2.30 | 2.50 |
| amateur activities | 00.35 | 00.35 | 00.15 | 1.45 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 00.25 | 00.25 | 1.35 | 3.55 | 00.30 | 00.50 |
| study and self-education | 00.05 | 1.25 | 4.05 | 8.10 | 10.55 | 8.15 | 2.05 | 4.05 | 4.25 | 10.00 | 10.50 | 9.55 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.25 | 00.10 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.10 | 00.35 | 1.40 | 1.00 | 1.45 | 3.00 | 2.05 | 2.20 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.10 | 00.30 | 00.45 | 00.50 | 00.25 | 1.10 | 00.35 | 00.40 | 1.05 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.50 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.55 | 1.50 | 2.05 | 1.30 | 2.45 | 2.20 | 2.40 | 2.30 | 2.20 | 00.50 | 2.00 | 2.20 |

Table 11

Time expenditures in correlation with communal conveniences
in housing units
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | Men | | |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Living units with all conveniences | Units with some conveniences | Units without conveniences | Living units with all conveniences | Units with some conveniences | Units without conveniences |
| <i>Housework</i> | 23.00 | 27.05 | 30.15 | 8.25 | 12.00 | 13.45 |
| daily housework | 22.35 | 26.00 | 28.20 | 5.25 | 4.25 | 6.20 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 00.25 | 1.05 | 1.55 | 3.00 | 7.35 | 7.25 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 3.30 | 5.55 | 6.40 | 4.35 | 5.15 | 4.05 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 4.30 | 3.50 | 3.10 | 7.35 | 6.05 | 5.15 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 1.25 | 00.55 | 00.45 | 3.05 | 1.30 | 1.35 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 3.00 | 2.55 | 2.25 | 3.30 | 3.40 | 3.10 |
| non-athletic games | 00.05 | — | — | 1.00 | 00.55 | 00.30 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 15.50 | 12.25 | 9.30 | 21.10 | 19.30 | 18.20 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 8.00 | 7.10 | 5.00 | 13.30 | 13.25 | 12.40 |
| reading newspapers | 00.45 | 00.35 | 00.35 | 2.35 | 2.10 | 2.25 |
| reading books and magazines | 3.10 | 1.40 | 1.10 | 2.40 | 1.15 | 1.40 |
| watching television | 4.05 | 4.55 | 3.15 | 8.15 | 10.00 | 8.35 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 1.55 | 00.50 | 00.55 | 1.30 | 00.40 | 00.50 |
| amateur activities | 00.55 | 00.15 | 00.50 | 1.05 | 00.35 | 00.45 |
| study and self-education | 5.00 | 4.10 | 2.45 | 5.05 | 4.50 | 4.05 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.20 | 00.05 | 00.15 | 1.45 | 00.50 | 1.05 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.15 | 00.40 | 00.35 | 00.30 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.10 | 3.00 | 1.50 | 2.25 | 2.15 | 2.50 |

Time expenditures correlated with ownership of televisions in age-family status groups
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | | Men | | | |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| | Unmarried youths | | Parents with minor children in nuclear families | | Unmarried youths | | Parents with minor children in nuclear families | |
| | Not owning a television | Owning a television | Not owning a television | Owning a television | Not owning a television | Owning a television | Not owning a television | Owning a television |
| <i>Housework</i> | 18.55 | 15.15 | 34.25 | 32.35 | 5.50 | 5.35 | 14.10 | 11.15 |
| daily housework | 13.35 | 15.15 | 32.25 | 31.45 | 3.25 | 3.15 | 9.25 | 6.20 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 1.20 | 00.15 | 2.00 | 00.50 | 2.25 | 2.20 | 4.45 | 4.55 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 00.10 | 00.30 | 7.50 | 7.50 | 00.26 | 00.00 | 6.45 | 6.25 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 6.00 | 7.30 | 2.35 | 2.35 | 10.25 | 13.15 | 5.15 | 5.20 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 2.55 | 3.05 | 00.15 | 00.15 | 7.00 | 7.40 | 1.10 | 00.55 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 3.05 | 4.15 | 2.20 | 2.15 | 3.10 | 4.35 | 3.25 | 3.50 |
| non-athletic games | — | 00.10 | — | 00.05 | 00.15 | 1.00 | 00.40 | 00.35 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 21.10 | 20.35 | 6.15 | 9.00 | 28.55 | 20.15 | 13.35 | 20.00 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 7.00 | 8.35 | 3.30 | 7.35 | 7.55 | 10.20 | 8.10 | 15.30 |
| reading newspapers | 00.50 | 00.45 | 00.40 | 00.25 | 1.15 | 1.15 | 3.00 | 2.35 |
| reading books and magazines | 4.30 | 4.35 | 1.35 | 1.05 | 4.15 | 3.10 | 2.20 | 1.40 |
| watching television | 1.40 | 3.15 | 1.15 | 6.05 | 2.20 | 6.00 | 2.50 | 11.15 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 3.30 | 2.50 | 00.35 | 00.30 | 3.20 | 2.30 | 00.40 | 00.35 |
| amateur activities | 1.05 | 1.00 | 00.15 | 00.30 | 1.45 | 1.00 | 00.55 | 00.45 |
| study and self-education | 9.35 | 8.10 | 1.55 | 00.25 | 15.55 | 6.25 | 3.50 | 3.10 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.15 | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.15 | 1.15 | 3.00 | 00.25 | 1.40 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.40 | 1.15 | 00.10 | 00.30 | 00.25 | 00.35 | 00.10 | 00.45 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.20 | 2.30 | 2.50 | 1.55 | 00.55 | 2.45 | 3.00 | 2.30 |

Time expenditures correlated with education levels
(hours-minutes per week)

| Types of time expenditures | Women | | | | Men | | | |
|--|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education |
| <i>Housework</i> | 32.00 | 28.10 | 23.25 | 23.00 | 12.00 | 13.10 | 10.35 | 8.25 |
| daily housework | 30.45 | 27.00 | 22.10 | 22.20 | 5.20 | 6.40 | 6.05 | 6.05 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 1.15 | 1.10 | 1.15 | 00.40 | 6.35 | 6.30 | 4.30 | 2.20 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 6.45 | 5.55 | 5.05 | 5.55 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 4.00 | 4.30 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 2.20 | 3.35 | 5.05 | 3.40 | 7.00 | 6.15 | 7.00 | 5.40 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 00.25 | 00.40 | 2.00 | 00.50 | 2.20 | 1.55 | 2.45 | 1.50 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 1.55 | 2.55 | 3.00 | 2.45 | 3.45 | 3.20 | 3.25 | 3.30 |
| non-athletic games | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.05 | 00.05 | 00.55 | 1.00 | 00.50 | 00.20 |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 6.50 | 9.45 | 16.10 | 14.35 | 13.15 | 17.50 | 21.50 | 26.00 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 5.10 | 6.15 | 6.55 | 6.20 | 10.55 | 14.20 | 12.55 | 12.15 |
| reading newspapers | 00.20 | 00.30 | 00.45 | 1.40 | 2.50 | 2.20 | 2.30 | 2.30 |
| reading books and magazines | 00.50 | 2.20 | 2.35 | 1.45 | 1.05 | 2.05 | 2.10 | 2.45 |
| watching television | 4.00 | 3.25 | 3.35 | 2.55 | 7.00 | 9.55 | 8.15 | 7.00 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 00.35 | 1.00 | 1.35 | 1.15 | 00.15 | 00.50 | 1.10 | 2.00 |
| amateur activities | 00.55 | 00.45 | 00.50 | 00.50 | 00.45 | 00.55 | 00.45 | 1.10 |
| study and self-education | 00.10 | 1.45 | 6.50 | 6.10 | 1.20 | 1.45 | 7.00 | 10.35 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.15 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 00.10 | 1.15 | 1.10 | 1.35 | 1.25 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.05 | 00.25 | 00.45 | 00.35 | 2.20 | 00.30 | 00.40 | 00.20 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 3.00 | 2.30 | 2.10 | 2.15 | 4.30 | 3.00 | 1.50 | 2.00 |

Time expenditures correlated with educa (hours-minutes)

| Types of time expenditures | Parents with minor children | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| | Women | | | | Men | | |
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades |
| <i>Housework</i> | 36.00 | 31.45 | 30.35 | 25.25 | 11.00 | 14.20 | 11.05 |
| daily housework | 34.20 | 30.20 | 28.40 | 24.25 | 3.55 | 7.25 | 5.35 |
| ancillary housework (gardening, repairing furniture, etc.) | 1.40 | 1.25 | 1.55 | 1.00 | 7.05 | 6.55 | 5.30 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 9.10 | 7.35 | 10.10 | 10.00 | 6.15 | 6.15 | 6.35 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 1.40 | 2.55 | 2.40 | 2.00 | 5.30 | 5.15 | 5.20 |
| walks, visiting parks, restaurants, cafes, dancing, etc. | 00.10 | 00.10 | 00.35 | 00.15 | 1.20 | 00.55 | 1.00 |
| visiting and receiving guests | 1.30 | 2.45 | 2.05 | 1.40 | 3.20 | 3.15 | 3.25 |
| non-athletic games | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.05 | 00.50 | 1.05 | 00.50 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 6.45 | 7.30 | 10.45 | 10.20 | 14.05 | 16.50 | 21.20 |
| individual-domestic consumption of culture | 5.45 | 6.00 | 7.15 | 5.10 | 11.00 | 14.50 | 14.45 |
| reading newspapers | 00.20 | 00.25 | 00.40 | 1.40 | 3.55 | 2.15 | 2.55 |
| reading books and magazines | 00.45 | 1.25 | 1.15 | 00.55 | 1.00 | 1.45 | 1.40 |
| watching television | 4.40 | 4.10 | 5.20 | 2.35 | 6.05 | 10.45 | 10.10 |
| public entertainment (movies, theater, etc.) | 00.25 | 00.25 | 00.45 | 1.00 | 00.10 | 00.30 | 00.45 |
| amateur activities | 00.30 | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.00 | 1.05 | 00.50 | 00.30 |
| study and self-education | 00.05 | 00.25 | 2.25 | 4.10 | 1.50 | 00.40 | 5.15 |
| <i>Sports, exercise, out-of-town recreation</i> | 00.05 | 00.15 | 00.05 | — | 1.15 | 1.15 | 1.20 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 00.20 | 00.20 | 00.30 | 00.35 | 3.00 | 00.30 | 00.30 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 2.05 | 2.35 | 2.10 | 1.15 | 4.15 | 2.45 | 1.55 |

Table 14

tion levels in age-family status groups
per week)

| | | Unmarried youths | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--|
| | | Women | | | | Men | | | |
| Special- ized educa- tion | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8 grades | Special- ized educa- tion | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Special- ized educa- tion | |
| 8.00 | 26.10 | 19.30 | 15.25 | 19.30 | 7.40 | 5.25 | 6.05 | 1.20 | |
| 6.00 | 25.30 | 19.05 | 14.50 | 19.15 | 7.40 | 4.05 | 2.55 | 1.20 | |
| 2.00 | 00.40 | 00.25 | 00.35 | 00.15 | 00.00 | 1.20 | 3.10 | 00.00 | |
| 6.15 | 1.40 | 00.20 | 00.05 | 00.25 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.20 | 00.00 | |
| 4.45 | 4.15 | 6.25 | 7.15 | 4.50 | 18.45 | 11.25 | 11.30 | 13.10 | |
| 1.05 | 2.50 | 2.05 | 3.30 | 2.10 | 13.10 | 7.25 | 7.05 | 5.40 | |
| 3.15 | 1.25 | 4.15 | 3.40 | 2.25 | 2.00 | 4.00 | 3.40 | 7.05 | |
| 00.25 | 00.00 | 00.05 | 00.05 | 00.15 | 3.35 | 00.00 | 00.40 | 00.25 | |
| 25.20 | 11.10 | 19.30 | 23.25 | 25.20 | 7.45 | 25.00 | 23.35 | 31.50 | |
| 12.35 | 7.30 | 8.30 | 7.25 | 8.15 | 7.05 | 10.15 | 9.20 | 8.15 | |
| 2.50 | 00.25 | 00.40 | 00.50 | 1.50 | 00.40 | 00.40 | 1.30 | 1.00 | |
| 2.50 | 1.35 | 6.10 | 4.10 | 4.20 | 00.15 | 4.25 | 3.20 | 5.30 | |
| 6.55 | 5.30 | 1.40 | 2.25 | 2.05 | 6.10 | 5.10 | 4.30 | 1.45 | |
| 1.00 | 2.20 | 3.35 | 3.15 | 3.30 | 00.40 | 3.55 | 2.15 | 6.25 | |
| 1.35 | 1.20 | 1.00 | 1.05 | 1.40 | 00.00 | 2.25 | 1.05 | 00.00 | |
| 10.10 | 00.00 | 6.20 | 11.40 | 12.05 | 00.00 | 8.25 | 10.55 | 17.10 | |
| 1.20 | 00.00 | 00.10 | 00.40 | 00.25 | 4.10 | 2.30 | 2.15 | 1.30 | |
| 00.30 | 00.00 | 00.55 | 1.05 | 00.05 | 1.15 | 00.10 | 00.30 | 1.20 | |
| 1.50 | 4.15 | 1.35 | 2.25 | 4.05 | 2.30 | 2.50 | 1.35 | 2.30 | |

Distribution of everyday activities by degree

| Degree of frequency of the activity | WO | |
|---|--|--|
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades |
| Daily activities (activities which over 2/3 of the group performed) | (100) Cooking (94) Housecleaning (94) Shopping (94) Caring for clothes (69) Watching television | (95) Cooking (91) Housecleaning (87) Shopping (82) Caring for clothes (65) Watching television |
| Frequent activities (activities which 1/4 to 2/3 of the group performed) | (56) Caring for children (48) Raising children (41) Visiting and receiving guests (29) Gardening, repairs | (55) Idle time (54) Caring for children (47) Raising children (46) Visiting and receiving guests (45) Reading books (39) Reading newspapers (36) Movies, theater |
| Less frequent activities (activities performed by less than 1/4 of the group) | (23) Reading books (20) Reading newspapers (18) Movies, theater (16) Walks without children (16) Idle time (11) Amateur activities (5) Out-of-town recreation (2) Study (2) Civic activities (1) Sports | (24) Walks without children (21) Gardening, repairs (11) Amateur activities (9) Civic activities (9) Study (2) Out-of-town recreation (2) Sports (1) Non-athletic games |

Table 15

of frequency, according to education level*

| MEN | |
|---|---|
| 8-10 grades | Specialized education |
| (89) Cooking (89) Housecleaning (81) Shopping (78) Caring for clothes (65) Idle time | (100) Cooking (86) Housecleaning (81) Shopping (81) Caring for clothes (69) Watching television |
| (60) Watching television (57) Visiting and receiving guests (56) Reading books (50) Movies, theater (43) Walks without children (40) Caring for children (35) Raising children (33) Study (31) Reading newspapers | (53) Reading newspapers (53) Reading books (53) Idle time (50) Caring for children (50) Movies, theater (44) Visiting and receiving guests (36) Raising children (28) Walks without children (25) Study |
| (16) Civic activities (15) Gardening, repairs (12) Amateur activities (7) Sports (5) Out-of-town recreation (1) Non-athletic games | (13) Amateur activities (11) Gardening, repairs (11) Civic activities (11) Out-of-town recreation (5) Non-athletic games (3) Sports |

| Degree of frequency of the activity | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades |
| Daily activities (activities which over 2/3 of the group performed) | (80) Idle time (70) Reading newspapers (68) Watching television | (77) Shopping (77) Watching television (70) Idle time (69) Reading newspapers |
| Frequent activities (activities which 1/4 to 2/3 of the group performed) | (61) Shopping (45) Raising children (42) Walks without children (42) Housecleaning (39) Visiting and receiving guests (39) Gardening, repairs (35) Cooking (32) Non-athletic games (30) Reading books | (58) Cooking (53) Reading books (53) Gardening, repairs (50) Visiting and receiving guests (42) Housecleaning (41) Walks without children (32) Raising children (31) Caring for children (25) Movies, theater |
| Less frequent activities (activities performed by less than 1/4 of the group) | (23) Movies, theater (16) Caring for children (16) Sports (13) Amateur activities (9) Study (6) Caring for clothes (3) Civic activities (3) Out-of-town recreation | (21) Caring for clothes (18) Non-athletic games (16) Amateur activities (13) Sports (9) Civic activities (9) Study (8) Out-of-town recreation |

* Numbers in parentheses are percentages of the group which performed the

Table 15 (continued)

| MEN | | |
|-----|--|---|
| | 8-10 grades | Specialized education |
| | (78) Watching television (73) Reading newspapers (66) Idle time | (77) Shopping (73) Reading books (69) Raising children (69) Reading newspapers (65) Watching television (65) Visiting and receiving guests (65) Idle time |
| | (63) Shopping (61) Visiting and receiving guests (55) Reading books (52) Raising children (46) Movies, theater (46) Walks without children (44) Gardening, repairs (41) Housecleaning (30) Cooking (29) Study | (62) Cooking (58) Housecleaning (46) Caring for children (42) Movies, theater (31) Walks without children (27) Study (27) Gardening, repairs |
| | (22) Caring for children (21) Non-athletic games (18) Sports (17) Amateur activities (14) Civic activities (11) Caring for clothes (11) Out-of-town recreation | (23) Caring for clothes (15) Non-athletic games (12) Amateur activities (4) Civic activities (4) Out-of-town recreation (4) Sports |

activities listed during the three-day period of our study.

Comparative urgency (variation) in time

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | Aspects of | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | WOMEN | | |
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | |
| I | (50) Cooking | (63) Cooking | |
| II | (73) Shopping | (87) Shopping | |
| III | (81) Housecleaning | (95) Caring for clothes | |
| IV | (87) Caring for clothes | (97) Housecleaning | |
| V | (134) Caring for children | (120) Watching television | |
| VI | (160) Visiting and receiving guests | (170) Raising children | |
| VII | (162) Raising children | (172) Visiting and receiving guests | |
| VIII | (165) Idle time | (172) Idle time | |
| IX | (260) Gardening, repairs | (201) Caring for children | |
| X | (270) Reading books | (206) Reading books | |
| XI | (280) Movies | (220) Reading newspapers | |
| XII | (305) Watching television | (240) Movies | |
| XIII | (324) Reading newspapers | (250) Walks without children | |
| XIV | (380) Walks without children | (305) Gardening, repairs | |
| XV | (490) Theater | (390) Study | |
| XVI | (530) Out-of-town recreation | (420) Civic activities | |
| XVII | (820) Civic activities | (530) Theater | |
| XVIII | (960) Study | (880) Out-of-town recreation | |
| XIX | (1010) Sports | (935) Non-athletic games | |
| XX | — | (1140) Sports | |

Table 16

expenditures correlated with education level*

time expenditures

| 8-10 grades | Specialized education |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (79) Cooking | (43) Caring for children |
| (100) Caring for clothes | (67) Cooking |
| (110) Shopping | (80) Housecleaning |
| (117) Housecleaning | (83) Caring for clothes |
| (143) Watching television | (100) Shopping |
| (151) Idle time | (110) Watching television |
| (154) Visiting and receiving guests | (130) Reading newspapers |
| (164) Reading books | (176) Movies |
| (170) Caring for children | (180) Reading books |
| (186) Study | (186) Raising children |
| (190) Movies | (188) Visiting and receiving guests |
| (210) Walks without children | (200) Study |
| (234) Raising children | (235) Idle time |
| (234) Reading newspapers | (260) Walks without children |
| (290) Civic activities | (290) Gardening, repairs |
| (350) Theater | (300) Out-of-town recreation |
| (410) Gardening, repairs | (320) Theater |
| (410) Sports | (330) Civic activities |
| (550) Out-of-town recreation | (430) Non-athletic games |
| (966) Non-athletic games | (600) Sports |

| Order according to decreasing urgency (increasing variation) | Aspects of | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | MEN | | |
| | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | |
| I | (98) Idle time | (97) Watching television | |
| II | (105) Watching television | (110) Reading newspapers | |
| III | (110) Reading newspapers | (126) Shopping | |
| IV | (130) Shopping | (140) Visiting and receiving guests | |
| V | (150) Raising children | (140) Idle time | |
| VI | (160) Gardening, repairs | (157) Gardening, repairs | |
| VII | (180) Walks without children | (167) Cooking | |
| VIII | (200) Movies | (174) Reading books | |
| IX | (200) Cooking | (196) Raising children | |
| X | (220) Housecleaning | (209) Walks without children | |
| XI | (250) Reading books | (220) Housecleaning | |
| XII | (250) Sports | (250) Caring for children | |
| XIII | (250) Non-athletic games | (274) Movies | |
| XIV | (290) Visiting and receiving guests | (300) Non-athletic games | |
| XV | (300) Caring for children | (350) Study | |
| XVI | (380) Study | (410) Caring for clothes | |
| XVII | (500) Caring for clothes | (410) Civic activities | |
| XVIII | (550) Civic activities | (450) Out-of-town recreation | |
| XIX | (1750) Out-of-town recreation | (470) Sports | |
| XX | — | (700) Theater | |

* Variations of time expenditures on given activities are listed in parent

Table 16 (continued)

time expenditures

| 8-10 grades | Specialized education |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (103) Watching television | (90) Watching television |
| (104) Reading newspapers | (100) Reading newspapers |
| (120) Idle time | (120) Reading books |
| (140) Shopping | (120) Cooking |
| (142) Visiting and receiving guests | (120) Visiting and receiving guests |
| (160) Reading books | (140) Movies |
| (167) Raising children | (140) Shopping |
| (170) Study | (130) Raising children |
| (182) Gardening, repairs | (130) Idle time |
| (185) Movies | (150) Housecleaning |
| (193) Walks without children | (170) Caring for children |
| (210) Cooking | (190) Study |
| (240) Housecleaning | (190) Walks without children |
| (250) Civic activities | (220) Gardening, repairs |
| (250) Non-athletic games | (280) Caring for clothes |
| (280) Caring for children | (280) Non-athletic games |
| (330) Out-of-town recreation | (500) Civic activities |
| (360) Caring for clothes | (500) Theater |
| (430) Sports | (500) Sports |
| (590) Theater | (500) Out-of-town recreation |

Table 17

**Time expenditures of workers who combine labor with studies
compared with analogous time expenditures of workers
in other groups**

(hours-minutes per week)

| Basic time expenditures | Women | | Men | | |
|---|----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| | Students | Un-married youths | Students | Un-married youths | Fathers of minor children |
| <i>Housework</i> | 15.40 | 18.00 | 7.50 | 5.40 | 18.10 |
| <i>Activities with children</i> | 8.40* | 00.20 | 4.40* | 00.10 | 5.10 |
| <i>Extrafamilial social intercourse</i> | 4.50 | 6.50 | 7.50 | 12.00 | 5.20 |
| walks without children | 1.50 | 3.00 | 3.40 | 7.20 | 1.00 |
| <i>Cultural activities</i> | 28.40 | 20.20 | 29.50 | 22.40 | 19.00 |
| evening or correspondence studies | 20.00 | 9.10 | 21.40 | 10.10 | 3.30 |
| leisure consumption of culture: | 8.40 | 11.10 | 8.10 | 12.30 | 15.30 |
| a) movies | 1.50 | 2.50 | 1.00 | 00.40 | 00.50 |
| b) reading books and magazines | 2.30 | 4.30 | 2.00 | 3.40 | 1.50 |
| c) reading newspapers | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.40 | 1.10 | 2.50 |
| d) watching television | 2.30 | 2.10 | 3.00 | 4.30 | 10.00 |
| <i>Civic activities</i> | 1.00 | 00.50 | 00.30 | 00.30 | 00.40 |
| <i>Idle time</i> | 1.30 | 2.30 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 2.30 |
| <i>Sleeping</i> | 50.40 | 52.50 | 50.30 | 53.10 | 53.30 |

* Including students who have minor children only.

| | All subjects surveyed | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | |
| A) Housework as a whole | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 27.20 | 17.40 | 24.20 | 32.40 | 30.50 | 26.10 | 29.10 | 32.00 | 28.10 | 23.30 | 23.00 | 32.40 | 28.40 | 22.20 | 23.00 | 30.10 |
| men | 11.40 | 5.40 | 12.10 | 12.10 | 12.10 | — | 18.00 | 12.00 | 13.10 | 10.40 | 8.20 | 12.50 | 11.50 | 9.30 | 8.25 | 13.10 |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 35.00 | 26.20 | 33.50 | 36.30 | 33.10 | 31.40 | 39.30 | 37.50 | 35.20 | 32.10 | 29.30 | 36.30 | 33.00 | 38.50 | 32.20 | 34.10 |
| men | 17.40 | 8.00 | 15.30 | 21.10 | 20.20 | — | — | 20.00 | 17.30 | 12.50 | 23.00 | 20.10 | 15.30 | 19.10 | 14.40 | — |
| B) Shopping * | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 5.50 | 4.30 | 4.40 | 6.20 | 6.50 | 5.20 | 6.40 | 7.20 | 5.40 | 5.10 | 4.50 | 6.20 | 5.50 | 5.40 | 5.30 | — |
| men | 3.00 | 2.00 | 4.00 | 2.40 | 3.30 | — | 3.50 | 2.20 | 3.20 | 2.50 | 2.00 | 3.20 | 2.50 | 2.40 | 3.00 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 6.40 | 7.20 | 4.40 | 6.50 | 6.00 | 8.20 | 7.40 | 5.20 | 6.50 | 6.50 | 7.10 | 6.30 | 6.50 | 7.00 | 7.10 | — |
| men | 3.30 | 1.30 | 1.20 | 4.50 | 3.00 | — | — | 4.50 | 3.20 | 3.20 | 5.00 | 3.40 | 3.50 | 1.20 | 4.10 | — |
| C) Cooking and related activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 10.20 | 4.40 | 11.10 | 13.40 | 11.30 | 10.00 | 11.10 | 13.00 | 11.00 | 8.00 | 10.10 | 11.50 | 11.10 | 7.50 | 8.50 | 10.10 |
| men | 1.10 | 00.10 | 1.10 | 1.20 | 00.40 | — | 2.20 | 1.00 | 1.20 | 00.50 | 1.00 | 1.10 | 1.10 | 00.50 | 1.50 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 14.40 | 6.40 | 14.00 | 16.30 | 13.10 | 12.20 | 17.20 | 16.10 | 15.00 | 14.10 | 10.00 | 15.50 | 13.40 | 16.00 | 14.10 | 15.10 |
| men | 3.20 | 1.10 | 3.30 | 4.40 | 1.50 | — | — | 3.10 | 3.10 | 1.50 | 2.40 | 4.30 | 2.50 | 2.50 | 2.20 | — |
| D) Caring for clothes, linen, and footwear | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 5.50 | 4.10 | 4.20 | 6.50 | 5.30 | 5.40 | 7.10 | 6.40 | 6.00 | 5.00 | 3.40 | 6.40 | 5.30 | 5.00 | 5.00 | — |
| men | 00.20 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 00.20 | 00.20 | — | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.20 | 00.10 | 1.00 | 00.30 | 00.10 | 00.20 | 00.20 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 6.20 | 2.50 | 7.40 | 6.30 | 7.00 | 5.50 | 6.10 | 7.10 | 6.30 | 5.10 | 8.00 | 6.40 | 6.00 | 8.00 | 5.30 | — |
| men | 00.10 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.20 | 00.00 | — | — | 00.30 | 00.10 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.00 | 00.10 | 00.00 | 00.30 | — |
| E) Housecleaning | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 3.50 | 3.10 | 3.20 | 4.00 | 4.20 | 3.30 | 4.30 | 3.50 | 3.10 | 3.10 | 4.30 | 3.50 | 2.40 | 3.30 | 4.00 | — |
| men | 1.10 | 00.20 | 00.50 | 1.20 | 1.40 | — | 00.50 | 1.00 | 1.40 | 1.00 | 1.20 | 1.30 | 1.10 | 00.40 | 1.00 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 4.20 | 4.50 | 4.30 | 4.10 | 4.40 | 3.10 | 4.20 | 5.00 | 4.40 | 3.40 | 2.10 | 5.50 | 4.00 | 4.50 | 4.10 | — |
| men | 1.10 | 1.10 | 1.40 | 1.10 | 00.50 | — | — | 00.30 | 1.10 | 1.20 | 00.10 | 1.00 | 1.10 | 2.10 | 1.20 | — |
| F) Repairing of furniture, home appliances, premises and so on | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 00.40 | 00.10 | 00.40 | 00.50 | 1.10 | 00.40 | 00.10 | 00.50 | 00.40 | 00.40 | 00.20 | 1.00 | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.10 | — |
| men | 3.00 | 00.40 | 4.40 | 3.20 | 3.10 | — | 3.00 | 3.00 | 3.40 | 2.40 | 1.20 | 3.30 | 2.30 | 2.00 | 1.30 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 00.40 | 1.00 | 1.10 | 00.30 | 00.20 | 00.00 | 3.30 | 1.10 | 00.30 | 00.30 | 1.40 | 00.20 | 00.30 | 2.40 | 00.30 | — |
| men | 4.30 | 00.40 | 4.50 | 4.50 | 8.20 | — | — | 7.50 | 4.20 | 2.40 | 9.00 | 5.50 | 3.20 | 6.10 | 2.40 | — |
| G) Gardening, care after animals | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | 00.30 | 00.20 | 00.00 | 00.40 | 1.10 | 00.00 | 00.20 | 00.20 | 00.30 | 00.40 | 00.20 | 00.50 | 00.20 | 00.20 | 00.10 | — |
| men | 2.30 | 1.40 | 1.10 | 2.40 | 2.30 | — | 4.20 | 3.40 | 2.50 | 2.00 | 00.50 | 2.10 | 2.30 | 2.20 | 1.30 | — |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | 2.00 | 2.50 | 00.50 | 1.40 | 2.10 | 2.00 | 00.30 | 3.00 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 00.30 | 2.10 | 2.00 | 00.30 | 1.00 | — |
| men | 4.50 | 3.30 | 3.50 | 5.10 | 6.00 | — | — | 3.30 | 5.20 | 3.30 | 6.00 | 5.00 | 4.10 | 6.40 | 3.30 | — |

* Including travel time.

Frequency of newspaper reading correlated with living conditions
(by percentage of workers surveyed)

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| regularly or occasionally | 90 | 95 | 100 | 98 | 92 | 86 | 65 | 77 | 92 | 94 | 94 | 88 | 98 | 94 | 94 | 86 | 92 | 77 |
| of which regularly | 70 | 76 | 70 | 66 | 70 | 72 | 50 | 53 | 70 | 78 | 68 | 65 | 69 | 73 | 72 | 66 | 73 | 48 |
| men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| regularly or occasionally | 97 | 98 | 100 | 98 | 99 | — | 89 | 88 | 97 | 98 | 100 | 96 | 98 | 97 | 98 | 97 | 98 | 94 |
| of which regularly | 92 | 88 | 88 | 93 | 98 | — | 84 | 79 | 90 | 94 | 100 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 94 | 89 | 94 | 85 |

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pavlovo-Posad women regularly or occasionally | 82 | 82 | 100 | 77 | 86 | 100 | 60 | 73 | 82 | 85 | 78 | 75 | 92 | 91 | 77 | 84 | — | — |
| of which regularly | 61 | 82 | 67 | 54 | 66 | 56 | 60 | 40 | 63 | 60 | 76 | 55 | 63 | 73 | 62 | 60 | — | — |
| men regularly or occasionally | 97 | 95 | 100 | 98 | 100 | — | — | 88 | 100 | 95 | 100 | 94 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — | — |
| of which regularly | 85 | 65 | 100 | 89 | 93 | — | — | 33 | 86 | 91 | 100 | 88 | 80 | 100 | 85 | 88 | — | — |

Table 20

Frequency of book reading correlated with living conditions
(percentage in each group that had read at least one book in the month preceding our study)

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities women | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more books | 51 | 75 | 58 | 40 | 49 | 49 | 22 | 22 | 46 | 73 | 74 | 37 | 51 | 68 | 66 | 39 | 54 | 26 |
| of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 or more books | 5 | 9 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more books | 51 | 73 | 40 | 50 | 49 | — | 21 | 33 | 47 | 57 | 58 | 46 | 50 | 59 | 58 | 45 | 54 | 44 |
| of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 or more books | 12 | 19 | 7 | 6 | 11 | — | 0 | 3 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 12 | 9 |
| Pavlovo-Posad women | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more books | 33 | 55 | 33 | 35 | 29 | 11 | 40 | 40 | 30 | 40 | 37 | 30 | 36 | 36 | 43 | 25 | — | — |
| of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 or more books | 2 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 1 | — | — |
| men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more books | 65 | 80 | 67 | 58 | 64 | — | — | 33 | 62 | 78 | 67 | 63 | 68 | 56 | 74 | 59 | — | — |
| of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 or more books | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — | — | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | — | — |

Frequency of movie attendance correlated with living conditions
(percentage in each group that had seen at least one movie in the month preceding our study)

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------|-----------|--|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb | |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 70 | 94 | 81 | 56 | 61 | 65 | 70 | 44 | 71 | 85 | 71 | 56 | 69 | 89 | 80 | 59 | 73 | 49 | |
| 1 or more movies of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 or more movies | 36 | 75 | 49 | 16 | 19 | 21 | 35 | 13 | 32 | 56 | 31 | 20 | 31 | 62 | 46 | 27 | 38 | 21 | |
| men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more movies of which | 69 | 91 | 88 | 56 | 72 | — | 74 | 48 | 61 | 78 | 84 | 48 | 72 | 86 | 76 | 58 | 73 | 58 | |
| 4 or more movies | 29 | 70 | 40 | 18 | 21 | — | 11 | 9 | 25 | 38 | 29 | 20 | 24 | 49 | 34 | 28 | 30 | 27 | |
| Pavlovo-Posad | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 45 | 100 | 50 | 35 | 34 | 66 | 80 | 60 | 37 | 55 | 75 | 35 | 49 | 54 | 45 | 41 | — | — | |
| 1 or more movies of which | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 or more movies | 16 | 64 | 33 | 9 | 8 | 22 | 20 | 20 | 12 | 30 | 12 | 6 | 20 | 27 | 25 | 15 | — | — | |
| men | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 or more movies of which | 83 | 100 | 100 | 80 | 64 | — | — | 50 | 84 | 91 | 83 | 66 | 93 | 100 | 93 | 78 | — | — | |
| 4 or more movies | 41 | 75 | 83 | 29 | 14 | — | — | 17 | 34 | 61 | 50 | 22 | 50 | 67 | 48 | 39 | — | — | |

Table 22

Frequency of theater attendance correlated with living conditions

(percentage in each group that had been to the theater at least once during the year preceding our study)

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 49 | 73 | 68 | 35 | 47 | 40 | 32 | 28 | 47 | 62 | 60 | 34 | 45 | 73 | 62 | 40 | 54 | 21 |
| men | 40 | 59 | 45 | 34 | 35 | — | 53 | 30 | 30 | 47 | 65 | 34 | 37 | 54 | 50 | 30 | 43 | 34 |
| Pavlovo-Posad | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 31 | 64 | 50 | 29 | 29 | 22 | 0 | 27 | 26 | 45 | 63 | 19 | 40 | 27 | 20 | 34 | 28 | 38 |
| men | 32 | 45 | 33 | 31 | 14 | — | — | 0 | 22 | 57 | 50 | 25 | 36 | 33 | 41 | 33 | 32 | 33 |

Frequency of correspondence and evening study correlated with living conditions
(percentage that combine work and study in each group)

| | All subjects studied | Age-family status | | | | | | Education | | | | Monthly per capita income | | | Communal conveniences | | Residence | |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------|------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|
| | | Unmarried youths | Young spouses | Parents with minor children | | | Elderly | 4 grades or less | 5-7 grades | 8-10 grades | Specialized education | 50 rubles or less | 51-75 rubles | More than 75 rubles | Basic conveniences | No conveniences | City | Suburb |
| | | | | Nuclear families | Extended families | Broken homes | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Large cities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 15 | 38 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 28 | 26 | 4 | 15 | 25 | 23 | 7 | 15 | 6 |
| men | 20 | 45 | 33 | 12 | 14 | — | 0 | 6 | 11 | 30 | 23 | 15 | 16 | 32 | 22 | 16 | 19 | 21 |
| Pavlovo-Posad | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| women | 8 | 18 | 17 | 3 | 14 | — | — | 0 | 4 | 15 | 4 | 4 | 14 | 0 | 9 | 6 | — | — |
| men | 14 | 40 | 16 | 2 | 14 | — | — | 0 | 16 | 17 | 1 | 6 | 21 | 11 | 11 | 18 | — | — |

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